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# HISTORICAL NOTICES

OF EVENTS OCCURRING CHIEFLY IN

# THE REIGN OF CHARLES I.

BY NEHEMIAH WALLINGTON,

OF ST. LEONARD'S, EASTCHEAP, LONDON.

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MSS. WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

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# INTRODUCTION.

NEHEMIAH WALLINGTON, the compiler of the work now published, was the tenth of the twelve children of John Wallington, and Elizabeth, his wife. He was born on May 12th, 1598. His kindred were in humble circumstances, although his father, a citizen of London, by trade a turner, was of sufficient standing to be elected churchwarden of his parish, St. Leonard's, Eastcheap. He filled that office in 1599. We have but few glimpses of him, but those show him to have been a man of sincere piety, and of a most affectionate disposition. These qualities were, indeed, the leading characteristics of the whole family, and in none of them were more conspicuous than in the amiable mother of our author. She died when he was only five years old, but it is clear that he preserved an affectionate regard for her memory. Among his papers is a careful copy of "A Faithfull Memoriall of my owne Mother that is deceased," drawn up by her husband. It is preceded by the following characteristic memorandum of the domestic customs of the time: "John Wal-

lington, about the age of thirty yeares, was contracted and handfasted unto Elizabeth Hall, about the age of twenty years, with a full consent of her Father and her Mother in the presence of that reverent man and his wife, Mr. Barber the preacher, and Mrs. Barber, at a solemn supper for that purpose, and about ix or x weeks after were publicly married on the xxiiii of November 1583."

The portrait that this "Memoriall" gives us is minute and graphic. "This godly, religious and virtuous woman the Mother of those within written twelve children, departed this mortal miserable life on the xx day of November 1603 about five of the clock in the morning, being the Sabbath day. And not long before the Lord took her happy soul unto Himself, she uttered these words, 'Lord, shall I this day keep my Sabbath with thee?' It pleased the Lord her merciful Father for causes known unto Himself to chasten this His dear daughter with much sickness and weakness of body both before she was married and after; besides the usual household griefs, she had but little time of health, but especially after the death of her Father Anthony Hall, sometime Citizen and Skinner of London, a man of long continuance and good report in this city, whom she dearly loved, whom the Lord took away six years and about a quarter before her.

"She was very loving and obedient to her parents, loving and kind to her husband, very tender hearted to her children, much affecting the

sincere preachers of God's Word, loving all that were godly, much misliking the wicked and profane. She was a pattern of sobriety unto many; very seldom was seen abroad, except at church; when others recreated themselves on holidays and other times, she would take her needlework and say, 'here is my recreation.' She was of fine inventions for drawing works, and other choice works, and many a fine and a neat piece of work hath she soon dispatched, she would so apply [to] it; besides a very good judgment in setting out works in colours, either for birds or flowers. God had given her a pregnant wit and an excellent memory. She was very rife and perfect in all the stories of the Bible, likewise in all the stories of the Martyrs, and could readily turn to them; she was also perfect and well seen[1] in the English Chronicles, and in the Descents of the Kings of England. She lived in holy wedlock with the Husband of her youth twenty years wanting but four days.

"These are the glories of a worthy praise,
Which of this virtuous woman now are read;
In honour of her life and latter days,
To number her among the blessed dead."[2]

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[1] *i. e.* well skilled.

"It's a schoolmaster
Well *seen* in music."—*Tam. of Shrew*, i. 2.

[2] The twelve children of John and Elizabeth Wallington, according to the list appended to the "Memoriall," were :—

Anne, born August 11, 1584; Elizabeth, Aug. 18, 1585; John, October 13, 1587; Hannah, July 23, 1589; Mary, September 26,

John Wallington married again twice. Joan, the second wife, died in May 1605, at the age of forty. A third wife died in August 1634. Her only child, probably Nehemiah's sister Patience, married Henry Church, "a very honest Christian man." A nephew of hers, John Allen, a minister, seems to have married a cousin of Nehemiah. A family with such parents at its head would be carefully and piously educated, and Nehemiah tells us that he was brought up in the ways of God, like young Timothy.

"When I dwelt in the house with my father," he says, "I did use every day to go up alone into the high garret to pray, whether for fashion's sake, or custom's sake, I know not."

The tenderness of his conscience was very great, and the recollection of the offences of his childhood pressed heavily upon him as he grew into manhood. The strong young man battled vigorously against the evil tendencies which troubled him, and despair at the apparent fruitlessness of the efforts which he made led him even to entertain thoughts of suicide. He was not contented with bewailing his shortcomings. He laid down "Rules for his daily life,"

---

1590; Sarah, December 1, 1592; another John, May 20, 1594; Martha, August 27, 1595; Samuel, October 20, 1596; Nehemiah, May 12, 1598; Dorcas, October 24, 1600; another Sarah, November 28, 1602.

It will be observed that these are all Scripture names. We find Nehemiah writing in a prayer which he has recorded, "Cause us to think on the signification of our Names, and to answer that which our parents did expect in the following of our predecessors."

and we find a series of "Articles made by me, Nehemiah Wallington, for the reformation of my life;" and used various "outward means" to help himself in "the conquest of self in the battle of sin." Of these we will give a specimen. After bewailing his infirmity of temper, he describes his plan for curing himself, and it would, doubtless, add greatly to the comfort of many a household if all bad tempers were similarly treated. We preserve his own spelling in this extract.

"The outward meanes that I haue vsed to ouercome this hasti crabbit nature of mine are these. Sometimes I haue gon in to another roume by my selfe, til my anger is ouer, and then com again. Somtime I went abroad, and then com again when my wrath is past. Somtimes I haue gone to bead when I haue been angred, and lay awhile till my anger is past, and then I haue rose, and put on my cloes, and haue bin friends again."

One word more about the "Articles," to which we have referred, and Nehemiah shall say it himself.

"I would of myself (by these Articles) run in all haste apace, even a gallop to Heaven. But now I find it by woeful experience that I am entangled, and have laid too heavy a burden on myself, that I am not able to bear, in so much that my going to heaven hath been like unto Pharaoh's chariots when the wheels were struck off, they went heavily and slowly, so that they drove them with much adọ; even so hath my Christian walk been to heaven,

slowly and with much ado, so that now at the last I must lay down all and say (with the poor publican) 'the good Lord be merciful to me a sinner.'"

We hear but little of mental conflict after this, for Nehemiah had found peace.

In early life he expressed a strong disinclination to matrimony; but it appears to have been in the latter part of the year 1619, or early in 1620, that he changed his views on the subject, and married Grace Rampain. He rarely alludes to her without some expression of affection, and he mentions as a help in his spiritual course "the good counsel of my loving wife, for I have often entreated her to mark my life, and to tell me when I do amiss."

We have been unable to trace anything respecting her parentage. Two brothers are mentioned, Zachariah, a man of good estate, who was murdered by the Irish rebels in 1641—his wife and two children were subsequently sheltered in Nehemiah's house; and Livewell, who appears to have been a minister, at Burton, near Lincoln, and afterwards at Broxholme. Nehemiah's affections were deep and tender, like those of many men of strong character, and his notices of his children, their ailments, and accidents, prove that he was a loving father, even to sensitiveness. His brother-in-law, Livewell Rampain, writes of him as "an indulgent Father, and a loving Husband."

Nehemiah had entered into business on his own account shortly before his marriage, and had taken

a house in Little Eastcheap. His father occupied one in the same street, at the corner of Pudding Lane, and the one which he selected was between that and Fish Street Hill. The narrow street still stands, but few of the busy multitude that pass the end of it on their way down Gracechurch Street to London Bridge think of the curious memories that cluster around it.

Eastcheap, as a modern writer tells us, was "the old Saxon market, celebrated from the time of Fitzstephen to the days of Lydgate for the abundance and variety of the provisions sold there."

In Stow's time Eastcheap was "a Fleshmarket of Butchers, there dwelling on both sides of the street; it had sometime also Cooks mixed among the Butchers, and such other as sold victual ready dressed of all sorts. For of old time when Friends did meet, and were disposed to be merry, they went not to a tavern, but to the Cooks, where they called for what Meat they liked, which they always found ready dressed."

Lydgate's ballad of London Lickpenny tells of the Cooks of Eastcheap crying their wares to the passers-by, "Hot Ribs of Beef!" roasted, "Pies well baked!" and other dishes; as well as of "the clattering of pewter, pots, harp, pipe, and sawtrie." Eastcheap was, evidently, a place renowned for feasting and mirth, and so Sir John Falstaff and his boon companions found it. The Boar's Head, the scene of their festivities, exists no longer; but the

stone sign was preserved for many years in the front of a house that stood upon its site.

In October 1622, his first child was born, a daughter, who was named Elizabeth; and his son John, in January 1624.

In the same year, Nehemiah had a severe illness, from which he recovered but slowly, and, after that, he writes of another cause of suffering. We again preserve his own orthography. "My louing Father deed afflict mee in my body, for I was troubled very much with the towth ach: so that I tooke littel rest night and day, and it cost me about eaight shillings in things to helpe mee, and yeet could finde but littel ease."

In 1625 London was visited with fearful mortality, and we will transcribe his own description of it, which he entitled

"A Thankful Remembrance.

"That in the year of our Lord 1625, it pleased God to send among us in this city and the suburbs such a plague (for our sins and abominations) that there died in one week in *August* 5205, and from the 6 of *January* to the twenty-seven of *October*, forty-three thousand two hundred sixty and five. I and my wife and my children continuing still in this doleful city, hearing of bells tolling and ringing out continually, could not but make us wonder at the hand of God to be so hot round about us, and yet we should escape; and hearing of the death of

so many of our acquaintance, and seeing of coffins going by almost every day, and hearing how God had swept away whole families, and taken away fifteen or sixteen out of some houses, leaving one or two in the house; and we did hear that one woman laid eight pair of sheets in *Mary Whitechapel* Churchyard. And we did hear of threescore children died out of one alley, and thirty out of another alley, and many more out of other places, [which] made us wonder that the Lord should spare us and ours, we being as great sinners as they: and thus would I say to my family, although we escape now, yet when there dieth but two or three in a week one of us may be one of them, and therefore not to be secure, but every one of us to prepare for death. And my wife would say unto the maid when she had done amiss, 'Why, *Ruth*, mend it, for how doth thou know but thou mayest die this sickness time, although the bills do grow less; and when there dieth but two or three in a week, you or I may be one of those two for aught we know, and therefore let us prepare for death.'

"And thus would I meditate with myself alone: what if the sickness should come into this house; *who* would I *willing* spare? Then would I say, the maid. Who next? My son *John*. Who next? My daughter *Elizabeth*. Who next? Myself. But what if God should strike thy wife, or thy Father, or thy Brother *John?* How would I take it then? I did think to take it patiently and to comfort

myself in the Lord, considering the sorrows and troubles they were gone out of, and the pleasure and joy that they are gone into. 'For in thy presence is the fulness of joy, and at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.' Many tears I did shed with these thoughts, and I desired the Lord, if it might stand with His glory and my soul's good, that I might die first and never see that day.

"And now will I set down the Lord's fatherly dealing with us. For upon *Friday* being the seventh day of *October*, we did all, I and my wife, my daughter *Elizabeth*, my son *John*, my maid *Ruth*, and my sister *Patience*, went unto *Lewisham*, partly for refreshment, and partly to see my sister *Sarah*; and going by water, the sculler rowed his boat over the cable rope of a ship which, as we all do think, was two foot above the water. And it was the great mercy of God that the boat did not overwhelm us all; and being low water, he rowed his boat two or three times upon the gravel, [so] that his boat stuck fast, and put us in great fear; but God of His goodness carried us safe thither at the last, where we were all very merry together. And so we came all safe home again, the Lord's name be praised for evermore. Amen.

"And on the next day, being Saturday in the afternoon, *Ruth* told my wife that she had a pricking in her neck, which words put us all in fear, and toward night she went to bed. And about eight o'clock at night my wife was in the kitchen washing

of dishes ; my daughter *Elizabeth* then being merry went unto her Mother, and said unto her, ' What do you here, my wife ? ' And at night when she was abed, says she to me, ' Father, I go abroad to-morrow, and buy you a plomet [*sic*] pie.' These were the last words that I did hear my sweet child speak, for the very pangs of death seized upon her on the Sabbath day morning, and so she continued in great agonies (which was very grievous unto us the beholders) till *Tuesday* morning, and then my sweet child died at four o'clock in the morning, being the eleventh day of *October*, and was buried that day at night.

" The grief for this child was so great that I forgot myself so much that I did offend God in it ; for I broke all my purposes, promises, and covenants with my God, for I was much distracted in my mind, and could not be comforted, although my friends speak so comfortably unto me. And my wife said unto me, ' Husband, I am persuaded you offend God in grieving for this child so much. Do but consider what a deal of grief and care we are rid of, and what a deal of trouble and sorrow she is gone out of ; and what abundance of joy she is gone into. And do but consider it is your daughter's wedding day, and will you grieve to see your daughter go home to her husband Christ Jesus, where she shall never want, but have the fulness of joy for evermore ? Consider how willingly *Abraham* went to offer up his only son *Isaac*, although he were to be his own executioner.' Then said I to my wife, ' Do you not

grieve for this child?' 'No, truly, husband, if you will believe me, I do as freely give it again unto God, as I did receive it of him.'

"Forasmuch then as I did struggle thus under the hand of God at one lash, therefore He took me in hand again, and came a little nearer[3] unto me. For my wife was struck sick on the next *Friday*, and on the Sabbath day and *Monday*, she was so sick that my mother, the midwife, the doctor, and others of my friends that did see her said she would not continue long with me, which made me so much the more to bestir myself in prayer to God for her. And the Lord did hear my prayers, and the prayers of His church for her, in the restoring her to health again: His Name be praised! For I was verily persuaded that He could restore her again, although the sentence of man be passed; for the Lord brings down to the gates of death, and raiseth up again, His Name be blessed and praised for evermore. Amen.

"After all this, what quarrellings, greivious reproaches, and slanders I and my wife had, the Lord knows that knoweth all things."

Poor Nehemiah! he was distracted indeed. But to continue his narrative:—

"I did hear likewise that in *Whitechapel* there is a place called *Red Lion Court*, and ten or more tenements in that Court, and all the men, women, and children died out of those tenements this sickness time; and not one left.

[3] Nearther.

"And on the first of *December*, about six o'clock in the morning, my wife was safely delivered of a man-child, contrary to our expectation; the Lord's name be praised for it. His name was *Nehemiah*.

"The thing that here I take notice of is the great mercy of God in the restoring of my wife to health, and giving her safe deliverance, having so small means as she had; and she and the child being both well. The Lord's name be praised now and for evermore. Amen. Amen.

"Now that the Lord hath [heard] my prayers in saving us as brands pulled out of the fire, when He hath taken away so many; and this year there hath died in *London* and the out-parishes fifty-four thousand two hundred sixty and five; what cause have I to be thankful unto the Lord, and to say with the prophet *David*—

"Psalm cxvi. 1. I love the Lord, because He hath heard my voice and my prayers."

His brother-in-law, Livewell Rampain, sent him an affectionate letter of consolation and sympathy from Burton upon the death of the little girl, and his old friend and valued minister, the Rev. Henry Robrough wrote also to him on the same occasion. Copies of both letters have been preserved.

In the following year he was again called to taste the bitterness of bereavement, for his "sweete sonne John," whose recovery from illness, fourteen months before, he had chronicled with great joy, died on April the 5th. Very touching it is to find this

strong and rugged man tenderly recording the infantine and imperfect utterances of his dearly loved little one during the few hours' illness which ended his life. In June of the same year we find him noticing a narrow escape that he had. While helping a labourer to take down a chimney that the foundation of his house might be repaired, the gable end of the house fell in, and he was buried in the rubbish, but he was extricated without injury.

In December, 1627, his daughter Sara (as the name appears in the register of her baptism and of her marriage) was born. Within three weeks after her birth, the fire, which, as he says, they were keeping in the chamber because the weather was cold, burned under the hearth, and nearly set the house on fire. A similar accident was threatened in October 1628, when a candle hanging over his head in a wire candlestick, fell down, and was just detected in time to prevent the threatened mischief.

In the following November his little Nehemiah died, and a wail broke from the very depths of this affectionate father's heart. "A bitter portion indeed it was to part from an only son;" but with his habitual resignation he adds, "yet it was wholesome."

In 1629 the house was, for a third time, nearly set on fire, and again it was from the candle falling through the "wier candlestick;" but it was, in this case, the fault of a careless servant.

Another trial awaited Nehemiah in this year.

A journeyman, who had worked with him for two years, of whom he had thought highly, robbed him of nearly 100*l.* He had been wondering at the gradual decay of his estate, and at the unexpected accumulation of debts, while his trade was so good; Nehemiah and his wife accused each other; but at last suspicion fell upon the man, on his proposing to enter into business for himself. After strong denial on his part, and much tender entreaty from Nehemiah (who pleaded with him one day for three hours) he confessed the theft, and his master forbore to take the law against him. "Surely if he had tarried a little longer with me," he writes, "he would have quite undone me. And now that there is a dead time of trading come on this very great loss, and housekeeping very chargeable, it hath almost broke my back. But God can and will raise me up again, and restore unto me double."

In February 1630 he was gladdened by the birth of another son, whom he named Samuel.

During this year he seems to have begun the book which we now place before the public. This is a quarto volume of 281 folios, preserved in the British Museum, clearly and neatly written, but more carelessly towards the end of the volume; lettered on the back, "Historical Notes and Meditations, 1583–1646."[4]

[4] Additional MSS., No. 21, 935. The following memorandum appears on a fly-leaf:—"This book was sold at Gulston's Sale, 1783-4, for £1 12*s.*" Vide *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, article "Gulston."

The taste for collecting which made him, when a young man, gather out of the Bible all the judgements of God against the wicked, and to write them on a piece of paper, seems to have grown upon him, and the deep interest which he evidently took in his eventful times led him to extract from the "weekly bokes," as he calls the little quarto pamphlets which then began to issue from the press in large numbers, such intelligence as he considered important, and to copy them into his book. He has thus formed, as the writer of the article referred to states, "a valuable addition to our means of judging for ourselves of the period to which it refers well worth attention from all who desire to see a lively picture of the times in which he lived."

His industry must have been very great indeed, for he was also diligent in the business of his calling. "I did rise at 5, 4, 3, and some times at toe o'clock in the morning," he wrote, "and first I were in priuate prayer to my God, and then went about my calling; and God sent in such a blissing, that it made me wonder and stand amassed, for I tooke 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, nay once I tooke tenne pounds one a

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Described thus: "Wallington (Nehemiah), a Puritan, his Journal, begun in 1630, *a most curious MS.*, containing much extraordinary matter. 4to. £1 12*s.*"

An appended note records the purchase of the volume by the British Museum of John Godwin, 11th April, 1857. In the following month a notice of this MS. appeared in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' in which it was characterised as belonging "to that most valuable class of materials for history, contemporary documents, furnished by actors in the scenes they describe."

day." We must therefore imagine the persevering compiler, after his shop was closed in the evening, snugly ensconcing himself in his "studdy," where he kept his numerous "bokes;" with others of more pretension, such as Sibb's 'Bruised Reed,' Beard's 'Theatre of God's Judgments,' and his much loved Geneva Bible, from which he always quoted. He thus affords a proof of the hold that that version retained upon the people long after the present authorised one was prepared for their use. He quotes, or refers to, more than three hundred of the tracts of which copies are preserved in the British Museum as the 'King's Pamphlets,' and there are many of his paragraphs which we have not succeeded in tracing home to their source. These, with the hundred and three petitions which he mentions as having collected, must have formed an unusually large library for a city tradesman in those days.

This Commonplace-book, as we may term it, was begun on a regular plan, the writer having made his selection of subjects, and classified his extracts by entering each one under its own heading. This is indicated by the running titles which he wrote at the top of each page, by the arrangement of the dates, and by the occurrence of blank half-pages, or even more, in various places in the volume.

The latest event recorded is the beheading of Charles I., which was written nearly in the middle of the book, where a convenient space had presented itself.

We print this MS. with very slight alterations; the orthography has been modernised, but the writer's peculiar spelling of some words has been given at the foot of the page; the notice of the King's death has been removed to the end of the book, which we have only abridged in a few places, where the altered manners of the age required it. One chapter only we have altogether omitted, "A short view of the Prelaticall Church of England," which was a mere transcript of one of the pamphlets referred to.

The writer's political views were very strongly marked. Rigidly and sternly Puritan, he yet did not leave the Church of England, while he grimly records her blemishes, and unsparingly lashes her Romanising Prelates. He viewed with strong reprobation the innovations which were creeping into the Church, under the auspices of Laud, whose downfall he looked upon as a great blessing to the land; he carefully noted the ravages of the Cavaliers, and manifested his feeling towards the King himself, by the significant quotation which forms his sole commentary upon the execution of the Sovereign. Those were stirring days in which he lived, and he fully shared in their excitement, as well as in their troubles. We can almost see him standing at his shop-door to watch the passing by of some political procession, or to look out for his "weekly bokes" with keen anxiety.

In December of the same year, we find him

beginning another book, chiefly as a record of his own domestic affairs, and there are but few allusions to politics in its pages, excepting such as personally affected himself. This is preserved in the Guildhall Library, lettered "Wallington's Journal," and from it we have drawn the materials for this biographical sketch. It was formerly in the possession of Mr. Upcott, who has inserted a careful MS. index of the principal occurrences noted down. The volume is a quarto of 518 pages, and seems to have been written contemporaneously with the former one. Wallington himself made a "Tabell," but it is less minute than the modern addition. The title-page runs thus :—

"A Record of the Mercies of God, or a Thankful Remembrance."

The Introduction, which, like introductions in general, seems to have been written last of all, is addressed "To the Christian Reader," and refers to his reasons for preserving such a record of his life. "I did write down these mercies of God some ten year ago," he writes; "and some time I was in mind to have burnt it in the fire, and so destroyed it, because I was ashamed that any should hear of this my sin. But now with better consideration I am contented to shame myself to the world, so that I may bring glory to God. But now shewing this my Book to some poor distressed soul, it did comfort and revive them, and likewise I receiving new favours and deliverances from God,

I was so far from destroying it, that I could not sleep in quiet till I had written it out fairer, and oh! I could wish it was written in a book, and graven with an iron pen in lead, or in stone for ever to the generations to come, that all others"—(here it abruptly ends). In the curious and minute details of this MS., it forms a striking contrast to the former one, in which we meet with merely passing allusions to himself, and do not even find his Christian name.

Nehemiah's fondness for books also showed itself in his frequent gifts of them to his friends. Presents of this kind are mentioned as having been sent, amongst others, to his kinsman, John Allen; and to his friend Francis Wilsmore, of Nottingham, who seems to have been like-minded with himself, and with whom he had business transactions, he sent one of Hooker's works. Wilsmore asks him in one of his letters to send two shillings worth of oranges and lemons, "and you shall," he writes, "receive moneys of the carrier for them, for there be two or three that have very weak stomachs."

Wallington was an indefatigable writer, and in 1632 he began another book, a quarto of 107 folios, which is now in the British Museum, and lettered on the back "God's Judgements on Sabbath Breakers."[5] The plan of this is similar to that of the first one, consisting of notices of events arranged under different heads. In this, many things that

[5] Sloane MSS., No. 1457.

are recorded in the first book are written over again, and he subsequently left this unfinished on that account, as his memorandum written on a fly-leaf shows:—"May the xxiiii, 1658, I did read over the most part of this booke, but haueing written the most of it in another booke, I forbore to take any furder notice of it, for at the present I am very ele in my body." The latest date of an entry in this book is $165\frac{4}{5}$. We have given a few extracts from this book also; they are indicated by being enclosed within brackets [ ].

The year 1632 was a very trying one to him. The account of an unjust lawsuit from which he suffered we will give in his own words:—

"On the xvi day of *April* (1632) being *Monday* at night, betwixt viii and ix o'clock, as I was in my shop, came two serjeants, one solicitor, and a broker; and the serjeant said to me that I was bail for one *Jackson* a year ago, and now where he was they knew not; and therefore he said he was come for fourscore pounds worth of my goods, and said he must go up into my kitchen. At these words I was amazed, and put in great fear. Then I sent for my brother *John*, and he came unto me, and they shewed him their warrant, what he [they] had to do, and so went up into the kitchen, where my wife was a-providing supper, (for her brother and sister, which were come out of the country, thinking to be merry together). My wife, seeing a stranger coming in such a manner and saying he was come

for fourscore pounds worth of goods, and hanging his cloak on the door, and saying he would begin with the pewter first, it did frighten her very much, looking very pale on the matter, and went down into the shop, and wrung her hands, bursting out weeping.

"I run to *Temple-bar* to find my brother *Cross*, to ask his counsel, but I could not find him; but before I came again my brother *John* and my brother *Kiffet*[6] told them if they would be contented till morning they would be bound that nothing should be stirred, but every thing should stand in his place; but they would not; at the last they would have my brother's bonds to pay them xv pound the next Saturday. So they made them a bond. So when I came home again they were all gone, and on the next day we went to ask counsel, and we were told they did more than they could answer, for I was but bail for the appearance of the man, and he died before the time came he should appear; and when he died the cause died, and so the bail is free; and I, being ignorant in law, I spent two weeks running to *Westminster* and to the *Temple*, and spent above fifty shillings. At last they said if we would give them their charge, which was three pound, they would let us go free; and had it not been for some I had done it, for I was very weary of law matter, but afterward they would take less, but we would give

[6] Richard Kiffet married Dorcas Wallington in October 1625.

nothing; then our attorney, which was a knave in this business, gave them a xi shillings, and at last we came to an agreement for nothing, and they were to give in the bond, and to withdraw the Judgment. At last I had my brother *Cross* to go with me, to see the conclusion of this matter, to see it on the records, and the bills of release be right, for the more easing of my mind. And yet behold the great mercy of God toward me, for my brother *Cross* handled the matter so that they gave me forty shillings towards my charges, and glad they could escape so; and so there was bills of releases made betwixt us, and the law ended. Thanks be given to God! I had for this two weeks much sorrow and grief, and could scarce eat any supper, I being full of vexation and sorrow, my shop being all this time much neglected. And another mercy of God toward me was this; whereas my Father and my Brothers might justly have chidden me, adding sorrow to sorrow, for this my oversightedness, they on the other side did comfort me; for my Brothers they put to their hands helping me out of it; and my Father he still spake very comfortably unto me, bidding me always when I went forth, to go forth praying all the way, and to think on that place in the viii of Romans, where it is said that all things shall work together, for the good of those that love God."

Then the good man enumerates nine "uses" that he made of his trouble, the first of which is "To

take heed another time of suretiship." After this, Nehemiah resolved to arrange his worldly affairs, and accordingly he drew up "A Postscript to my Loving Wife, Children, and Friends," from which we will give some brief extracts :—

"And now fain would I do as Hezekiah was commanded, to set his house in order, or to give precepts in his house, because he should die and not live.

"First then, (and principally) I bequeath and resign my soul unto God, and to His Son Jesus Christ, who by His precious blood hath redeemed me, and sealed my said redemption by His holy Spirit of promise.

"Touching my body, if I die in peace, I desire it may be honestly committed to the earth from whence it came (and to be buried in *St. Leonard* Churchyard, where my three sweet children lieth); if otherwise, let God dispose thereof according to His pleasure. Sure I am that whatsoever becometh of it here, and how vile soever it be by sin, and the infirmities thereof through sin, yet it shall be changed and fashioned like to the glorious body of Christ Jesus Himself, according to His power whereby He is able to subdue, and will subdue all things unto Himself. Phil. iii. 21.

"Touching other things whereof men use to make their wills: I know not what to say unto my estate, being very weak and intricate ;[7] therefore my request

[7] Interecate.

and desire is, that my Brother *Livewell Rampain*, my Brother *John Wallington*, my Brother *Richard Kiffet*,[8] and my loving friend Master *John Gaice*,[9] may be my overseers in the setting of things right as they will answer it at the great day of the Lord. And after that all my debts be paid, then the rest that is left, my wife (as her due is) to have the thirds; and the rest (that is left) to be divided to my children if they be living; but if they be dead, then my wife to have all my estate, which will be, I fear, a very small quittance. For I may say to you as *Peter* said to the lame man, 'Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have I give unto you;' therefore all my will following shall wholly consist of such precepts to you as myself have received of the Lord, which I have recorded in this book."

He proceeds to give "precepts" and exhortations drawn from his own personal experience, and then refers, apparently, to some unsuccessful speculation.

"Thou knowest, wife, for part of my estate how it is gone, and that I did not lavish it away, but to the best of that wisdom which God gave me I did use it."

He thus concludes:—"The very God of peace sanctify you wholly, and keep your whole spirit, soul, and body, harmless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, in all humility and earnestness of prayer I ordain sole executor of this my last

[8] Substituted for the name of Henry Church, erased.
[9] Substituted in the same way for James Cole.

will and testament, for the making good and perfecting of every thing therein bequeathed by me unto you. In witness whereof I have written this my said last Will and Testament with mine own hand, and thereunto have set the seal of my heart this xxi day of May 1632.

"By me your loving Husband whiles I live,

"NEHEMIAH WALLINGTON."

A heavier trial awaited him later in the year. His little son Samuel, who was sickly, and had suffered much from "fites of the convultion," had been sent to Peckham to nurse, in the month of January, and he died there in October. This accumulation of trials weighed heavily on his mind, and a return of his old despondency seems to have been threatened, for Livewell Rampain wrote him from Broxholme a very wise and comforting letter, in which he gives the following sound advice :—

"Bend the contrary way; do not delight to be your own tormentor; do not aggravate nor make too much of those things which may move your sorrow. For a man to have his finger always in the sore is not the way to heal it, but to inflame it and make it more incurable. Continue still in prayer and striving with God; go on to wait upon the Lord in the constant performance of all commanded duties. Apply the sovereign plaster of the blood of the Lamb and your penitent tears to your griefs, and then let it lie on to work; if the cure be

not sudden, it is certain. And if the cause be in any part natural, you may, you ought to use natural helps, as cheerful company, comfortable discourses, refreshing exercises and the like, which they that put from them shut themselves up in a prison of woe, and are deservedly miserable."

Later in the year he records with thankfulness a remarkable preservation from accident, when some heavy furniture fell down in his shop, and no one received any injury.

After reviewing various deliverances from troubles and dangers, the pious man drew up a "Private Prayer," apparently during this same year, and he thus alludes to them in it:—

"Thou knowest how it grieves me that I cannot be a better Scholar in this my university of affliction, that although that thou hast trained me up so long a time in it, that I should remain such a dunce and a dolt in this thy School, and can so hardly take out one new lesson."

In 1634 Nehemiah gave a singular proof of the strength of his friendship and energy of purpose. His brother-in-law, James Cole, who lived in Whitechapel, left home on account of debt, and failure in business, and went to Ipswich. Nehemiah wrote him a loving letter, imploring him to return, and to the copy which is preserved he appended the following curious memorandum:—

"Now I not knowing how to send this letter safely, (our hearts being knit together like *David*

and *Jonathan*) I did take care to carry it to him myself. So upon *Saturday* morning, I took ship at *Woolwich*[10] and having a fair wind, I was over against *Harwich*[11] about xii o'clock at night, and then called a boat from *Harwich*, and so I was at *Ipswich*[12] near two o'clock on the Lord's day in the morning, and then delivered my letter to my brother, Mr. *Cole*, and went in the fields and conferred together. And then I did advise him to go to Mr. *Ward*,[13] or some other Minister, and ask their advice, and so he went to Mr. *Ward*, and his counsel was to return home. So betimes on *Monday* morning we set forth on foot from *Ipswich* toward *London*, and scarce rested till I was there. My brother *Cole* parted from me at *Elton*, and went

[10] Wolleg. [11] Harreg. [12] Ipeswich.

[13] There were two brothers of the name of Ward at this time ministering in Ipswich, Samuel, the Town-Preacher, known as "Watch Ward," from the first words of his epitaph, and John, the Rector of St. Clement's. It is probable, however, that Samuel was the one whom Wallington and his friend consulted in this case. For the truths which he preached, he was inhibited for a time in 1623. In the biographical sketch of him, by the Rev. J. C. Ryle, prefixed to his 'Sermons and Treatises' (Nichol, London, 1862), it is stated that "After eleven years of comparative quiet, Ward was prosecuted again, for alleged nonconformity, at the instigation of Archbishop Laud. Prynne, in his account of Laud's trial (p. 361), tells us that, in the year 1635, he was impeached in the High Commission Court for preaching against bowing at the name of Jesus, and against the 'Book of Sports,' and for having said 'that the Church of England was ready to ring changes in religion,' and 'that the Gospel stood an tiptoe ready to be gone.' He was found guilty, was enjoined to make a public recantation in such form as the Court should appoint, and condemned in the costs of the suit. Upon his refusal to recant, he was committed to prison, where he remained a long time." He died in 1639.

to *Barking*, till his wife came to him. But I went home, and upon *Tuesday* morning at five o'clock I was in my chamber, by my wife's bedside, very weary, but in health, praised be God.

"Some say it is near threescore mile from *Ipswich* to *London*; too hard a journey to go on foot in a day and a night: but love endureth all things."

Mr. Cole subsequently settled in Hertford, Connecticut, and his brother-in-law kept up a correspondence with him.

For a year or two, matters seemed to go on smoothly with Nehemiah, and, beyond the record of unexpected help which he received in trouble, two or three instances of preservation from injury in accidents happening to his now only child, the little Sarah, and another time of danger to his house from fire, there is nothing of sufficient interest to transcribe. In February, 1638, however, he fell under the suspicion of the terrible Star Chamber, and we find the cause of this fresh trouble given in a letter to Mr. Cole:—

"I had some books that were not to the lordly Prelates' liking, and an honest man being in some trouble about them did betray me and my brother, with divers others (in hope to free himself) that we were had up into the Star Chamber Court, which is a very chargeable Court, and it cost me a great deal of money, and loss of time, with much grief and sorrow, and could not be freed out of that

Court, but yet God hath turned it that all hath worked for the best."

We are not surprised to find this careful note-taker minutely recording the particulars of the examination to which he was subjected. We cannot do better than give his own account, modernising his quaint orthography.

"*February* the 5th, 1638 [9].—On Shrove *Monday* as I was wording [14] on the bridge, about ten o'clock, came my man *Nathaniel* to me, and told me my Father and my brother *John* had sent for me to come home presently; and when I came home, they told me that there was a writ served on me, and another on my brother, and Mr. *Westen*, that dwelleth on the bridge, to appear at his Majesty's attorney at the Starchamber at two o'clock that day. So we went at the time appointed, and there was great matters laid to our charge, containing xxxv sheets of paper, and we were inserted in the same [15] bill with Mr. *Burton*, Mr. *Prynne*, and Doctor *Bastwick* (and divers other godly men) how we had long maligned the King's happy government, and did vilify and defame his government, and that we had printed and devised libellous books, with other heinous crimes; which we did answer, we were clear of them all.

"Now I was much troubled about the oath that

[14] "Probably from the old English *worde*, to discourse."—*Halliwell.*

[15] *i. e.* the same kind of bill; a bill of the same form, and alleging the same kind of offences.

I was to take, and my intent was not to take it at any hand; but an honest friend told me that it was the Star-Chamber Oath, and that I could no way avoid it, and some other honest friends said I might lawfully take it, and if I did not, I should bring much misery on myself, and the rest of my friends, and that I could have no comfort in this my suffering. With strong arguments I was overcome (and said, do nothing against my conscience, but as God shall persuade my heart.) So on the xxi day of *February* we went up with a man to carry our Answer, and there was a man alone in a room, and he asked if we were all there, and we said yes, (I little thinking of taking my oath;) he said, 'lay your hands on the book' (now my heart began to ache, and it was lifted up unto the Lord what to do) and we did so; and this to my remembrance was the oath that I took. 'You shall swear that this is your own act and deed, and to answer to all such questions as shall be drawn out of it, what you know or believe concerning yourself or any others.' After this I was much troubled in my mind about the oath, and my brother *John* speak very comfortable to me, and was (as he hath been always) a loving brother to me in this my sorrow. But the more I thought of my oath, the more I was troubled; for in my own apprehension I could not conceive but it was a devilish and execrable oath; and after my brother was so strictly examined and so hardly put to it, then I was much troubled at it concerning

myself, and I went to some of [my] godly friends for comfort, and advice what to do, and afterwards I went and gave some money to a man that promised to take it up, so that I should never come to my examination. But he did fail me, for either he could not, or else he did neglect me; insomuch that on *Thursday* night, being the xix of *April*, word was brought that there was an attachment granted to be served on me, and the other two on the Bridge, (Mr. *Westen* and Mr. *Southen*), but he would do what he could to stay it till I come in the next morning. Which did much trouble me and my wife, and the rest of my friends; but at this time, and all the time before, I did fortify myself with comfort out of God's promises in His word, and sweet meditations I had.

"I will make you acquainted with some of them. I went often to God in holy prayer in private, and found much comfort, which made me to believe that He would help me, because His holy Spirit did so move me to seek to Him. As *Manoah's* wife said (in Judges xiii. 23) If the Lord would kill us, He would not have received a burnt offering and a meat offering of our hands, neither would He have shewed us all these things, nor would now have tould us any such. So say I that this His good Spirit in moving of me to seek unto the Lord, it was a sure token that the Lord would either deliver me out of my trouble, or else He would so sanctify it, or support me under it, and

[send] patience to undergo it; and I did (believe and) say many times, that deliverance out of trouble is better than to be freed from trouble.

"When is a mother's love most seen but when her child is not well, for then she brings forth cordials and presents. So (and much more) is God's hand seen to His children when they are at the worst, for then we see God's power, His mercy, and strength in our weakness (for the more dangerous the disease is, the greater is the cure, and the more praise to the doctor or surgeon). And often did I think that the simpler I was the more glory would be given to His name: and I did say to my wife, although that I know not what to do to come out of this my trouble, yet the Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation (2 Peter ii. 9). For the Lord is with His children in trouble, and hath many ways we know not of to deliver them."[16]

"Thus I was very large in my meditations. In times of crosses, so likewise at this time, I did think much of that speech of *Jacob* (Genesis xlv. 28), 'I have enough, *Joseph* my son is yet alive.' So say I; I have enough, my God is yet alive, as loving, as able, as kind and merciful, as ever, to comfort, help, and strengthen or refresh me in all my sorrows or troubles whatsoever.

"At the first when I had read that I was in

[16] He then refers to Genesis xxxix. 20–25; 1 Samuel xxiii. 14; Jeremiah xxxviii. 6; xxxix. 11; Psalm xxxvii. 5; xxxiii. 18–22; xlvi. 1–3; Daniel iii. 17.

the same bill with Mr. *Prynne*, Mr. *Burton*, and Dr. *Bastwick*, at that very time I was glad, and joy was in my heart, that I should be put among them and to be made partaker of saints' sufferings; and indeed I was more comfortable all the while under this trouble than I have been under a far less.

"It is never vain to seek unto God. In the next morning, being the xx of *April*, I got up betimes, and began to strengthen or fortify myself. First, I went to God in private prayer; then I came down and read these places of Scripture, and God assisting me, I speak something of them, and I found much benefit and comfort by them."

[Here, according to his usual practice, he writes out various passages at length, and briefly comments upon each one.]

"So after these meditations, we went and commended ourselves unto God in prayer, and then I went to *Gravesend* to be examined, and then I went alone into the office with the man, and I lifted up my heart to God that it would please Him to give me favour in the eyes of the man, or else to give me wisdom to speak, that I might no way dishonour Him; (for I was jealous of my own deceitful heart, for I did think on *Peter*, when he was put on the trial, how his courage failed him) yet I did hope in God that as He had heard me in a former time, so He would hear me now. And so the Lord did hear me, His name be praised. For the questions were favorable, as followeth:—

"These be the questions and my Answers in order, as well as I can remember.

"Mr. *Wallington*,

"*Q.* Where do you dwell, and what trade are you?

"*A.* In *Little Eastcheap;* a turner.

"*Q.* Have you had the 'Divine Tragedy,'[17] and the 'News from *Ipswich*'?[18]

"*A.* Yes.

"*Q.* What Books else have you had?

"*A.* 'The Apology and Appeal to the King.'[19]

"*Q.* Where did you see these books first, or in whose hands did you see them first?

"*A.* I read them first in my own house.

"*Q.* Had you the 'Litany'?[20]

"*A.* I know not what that Book is.

[17] "A Divine Tragedie, lately acted, or, a Collection of sundry memorable examples of God's judgements upon Sabbath-breakers, and other like Libertines, in their unlawfull Sports, happening within the Realme of England, in the compass only of two yeares last past, since the Booke was published, worthy to be knowne and considered of all men, especially such, who are guilty of the same, or Arch-patrons thereof." Anno M.DC.XXXVI. (By Mr. Prynne.)

[18] "Newes from *Ipswich*, Discovering certain late detestable practices of some domineering Lordly Prelates. (Signed) *Matthew White.* First printed at *Ipswich*, and now reprinted for T. Bates. 1641." Small 4to. pp. 8.—*King's Pamphlets.* The date of the Ipswich publication is not given.

[19] Probably a small 4to. pamphlet, pp. 16, entitled "An Apology of an Appeale. Also an Epistle to the True-Hearted Nobility. By *Henry Burton*, Pastor of *St. Matthewe's, Friday Street.*—Acts 25, 11. *No man may deliver me unto them: I appeale unto* CÆSAR.—Printed *Anno Dom.* 1636."—*King's Pamphlets.*

[20] "The Letany of *John Bastwick*, Doctor of Phisicke, Being now full of Devotion, as well in respect of the common calamities of plague and pestilence; as also of his owne particular miseries; lying at this instant in *Limbo Patrum.* Set downe in two Letters to Mr. *Aquila Wykes*, keeper of the Gate-house, his good Angell. In which there is a

"*Q.* How long is it since you had these books?

"*A.* A great while ago.

"*Q.* How long do you think it is since you had them?

"*A.* About a year ago.

"*Q.* Of whom had you the 'Divine Tragedy'?

"*A.* Of my brother, *John Wallington.*

"*Q.* Of whom had you the 'Apology and Appeal to the King'?

"*A.* Of an unknown party that brought them to my door.

"*Q.* Of whom had you the 'News from *Ipswich*'?

"*A.* I know not of whom, whether of my brother, or the other man.

"*Q.* You must answer directly of whom you had it.

"*A.* I do think I had it of the other man; for I do not remember I did see my brother have any.

"*Q.* To whom have you dispersed any?

"*A.* I did let one *Edward Brown* see one of them, but I sold him none; but being something timorous, I had it of him again, and have burnt it.

"*Q.* Where doth he dwell, and what trade is he?

"*A.* He did dwell in *Little Eastcheap*; a turner:[21] he was my neighbour.

universal challenge to the whole World to prove the parity of Ministers to be *jure divino.* Printed by the speciall procurement, and for the especiall use of our English Prelats in the yeare of Remembrance, *Anno* 1637. Dedicated by John the Phisitian to the Vertuous and elect Lady, the Lady *Walgrave* at her house in *Worminford* in *Essex.*" —*King's Pamphlets.*

[21] This seems to have been a favourite locality for turners. Stow mentions that in 1618 the Church of St. Leonard's, Eastcheap, was

"*Q.* Have you any copies of them at home?

"*A.* No.

"*Q.* Do you know who selleth any of them?

"*A.* No.

"*Q.* Do you know who printed them, and what they cost printing?

"*A.* No, I cannot tell, that is out of my element.

"*Q.* Have you sent any of those books into the country?

"*A.* No.

"*Q.* Had you any letters out of the country for any?

"*A.* No, for I think there was none in the country did know I had any of them.

"Then I came away with my heart lifted up unto the Lord my God in this manner: Now wherein I have done or answered amiss, (thou, Lord, only knowest) the good Lord for thy Christ's sake, my only Saviour and Redeemer, forgive me, and fit me to undergo whatsoever thou shalt call me to that I may seek to keep a clear conscience and bring glory to thy name in all my sufferings."

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"On the xxii of *May*, I had another writ served on me, and some of those that were in trouble with me went up to their counsel; and I was told me it

much injured "by a calamity of Fire, happening by whiting of Baskets, in the house of one *Jerome Baynton*, a Turner (situate in *Little Eastcheap*)." The steeple was rebuilt, and the church repaired, in 1618, 1619, 1620, and 1621; Abraham Colfe being the Rector.

cost them xx shillings a piece to counsel, and three pound a piece for a copy of their interrogatories. I hearing of this dare not go, because money is so short with me."

Nehemiah seems to have been kept under the surveillance of that irresponsible Court for about two years, as he refers to "a letter of encouragement to patient suffering," written from Rotterdam by his friend Matthew Godscot, on April 28, 1641, as having been sent "a year after I was freed from the Star Chamber Court.[22] Awhile after this," he adds ,"my loving father died."[23]

In August of the same year, we find an entry in his journal, which we will give entire. It is headed:

"Of the picking of the lock of my street door.

"The first of *August*, 1641, being the Lord's day when I and all my family was gone to Church (in the forenoon) and when I was come home, I did find my keys were taken out of my study door, and when I had enquired for them, I did hear that the street door was picked open. So I made a shift to open my study door, and did see my child *Sara's* desk opened, and all her work tumbled and scattered out, and then I opened my desk, and they had taken out, as I think, about three pound, and a box (written on, This is the poors' box) with, as I think, about twenty shilling in it, and my keys

[22] That is, after the first examination.

[23] John Wallington died in August of that year, aged 86.

were taken away, but four days, [after] I found my keys again amongst my wooden sieves.

"The loss of this my money did somewhat trouble me, but yet I was cheerful, and could not but be very thankful to God that I lost no more. Neither did I shed one tear for my loss. But I did shed tears in thoughts of God's goodness that I lost no more. For they might have broke into my chamber, and have took that little plate, and some other moneys that was there with some other things, even to my undoing."

In 1642, Nehemiah received a visit from his friend Francis Wilsmore, who wrote to him on his return a letter dated Nottingham, June 28th. Wallington wrote at the foot of the copy of that letter, "A while after, I did hear that this my loving friend and dear servant of God was with a bullet from the Castle shot to death as he was in the town."

Wallington's zeal for God's glory, combined with his facility of writing, led him frequently to address letters to those whom he was anxious to benefit. We find the copy of one to Mr. Colfe (apparently his Rector), remonstrating with him for not taking care of his parish; and one of admonition to his neighbour, Master Waddington, with which he sent two little books, 'Helps to Humiliation,' and a 'Sermon of Repentance.' [24]

On July 20th of the same year, Wallington's

[24] Probably Bradford's *Sermon of Repentance.*

daughter and now only child, Sara, was married to John Haughton, and a pleasing proof of his being like-minded with his excellent father-in-law is afforded by the following memorandum, inscribed by the latter on a fly-leaf of the Guildhall MS. The original spelling, which we preserve in this instance, shows a curious orthographical liberty with the name of his new relative :—

"The begining of November 1647 my Sonne John Horthan and I did begine to read in this Booke euery morning by our selves alone, and by God's marcy we haue read ouer this Booke, January the xxxi, 1647–8."

In 1650 we find Wallington beginning to write another "booke," a small duodecimo of 209 folios, which is preserved in the British Museum.[25] It is lettered, "Religious Letters." The first one given is the second epistle of St. John ; then follow some abridged from the 'Book of Martyrs,' and others confessedly from various printed sources. These occupy the first 62 folios, and are followed by copies of letters written by himself and his friends, on various occasions. He compiled a "Table" at the end of the book.

The Introduction, which is addressed "To all Readers," begins thus :—"Reader, contrary to my purpose, and intents, God altering my mind, I now begin to write another Book, which doth concern many pious, holy, Godly, and Christian letters ;

[25] Sloane MSS., No. 922.

some are to instruct and advise, some to reprove and admonish, some are sweet and comfortable, and some are to stir up to praise and thankfulness."

He proceeds to lay down some "Rules for Christian life":—

"In all good things, give your eyes and ears the full scope, for they let into the mind.

"Restrain the tongue, for it is a spender. Few men have repented them of silence.

"In all serious matters take counsel of days, and nights, and friends, and let leisure ripen your purposes, neither hope to gain aught by suddenness; the first thoughts may be confident, the second are wiser.

"Serve honesty ever, though without apparent wages; she will pay, if slow.

"As in apparel, so in actions, know not what is good, but what becomes you.

"How many warrantable acts have mis-shapen the authors!

"Excuse not your own ill, aggravate not others, and, if you love peace, avoid censures, comparisons, contradictions.

"Out of good men choose acquaintance; of acquaintance, friends; of friends, familiars; after probation, admit them, and, after admittance, change them not; age commendeth friendship.

"Expend after your purse, not after your mind; take not where you may deny, except on conscience of desert, or hope to requite.

"Either frequent suits, or complaints, are wearisome to any friend.

"Rather smother your griefs and wants as you may, than be either querulous or importunate.

"Let not your face belie your heart, nor always tell tales out of it; he is fit to live among friends, or enemies, that can be ingenuously close.

"Give freely, sell thriftily.

"Change seldom your place, never your state; either amend inconveniences, or swallow them, rather than you should run from yourself to avoid them.

"Let your suspicions be charitable, your trust fearful, your censures sure.

"I fear the number of these rules, for precepts are wont (as nails) to drive out one another; but these I intended to scatter amongst many, and I was loth that any guest should complain of a niggardly hand. Dainty dishes are wont to be sparingly served out, homely ones supply in their bigness what they want in their worth."

There are several interesting letters copied into this book, besides those to which we have already referred in this sketch. In one to Mr. Cole, dated August 22nd, 1650, he gives the following comprehensive account of the wars which had disturbed the kingdom:—

"We have had three Wars already. The first was a prelatical war, in the year 1639 and 1640, when the King with a great Army of Malignants went against *Scotland* to maintain a prelatical Go-

vernment by Bishops, Episcopacy, Superstition and Idolatry, (and the King had then a great strength at Sea). There was then seen God's great mercy in the confusion of that wicked Army.

"Secondly, we had a profane war, in the year 1642, when the King set up his standard at *Nottingham*, when the Army of wicked wretches adhered unto him to maintain all manner of wickedness, superstition, Sabbath-breaking, Drunkenness, oppression, plays, and all manner of profaneness. Then was God's mercy seen in giving us a great victory at *Kynton*, at *Marston Moor*, near *York*, and at *Naseby* there was God seen.

"Thirdly, we had a hypocritical war, in the year 1648, which was when the Scots did come under pretence of the maintaining of the Covenant and for a Reformation; and yet they did come in such a hostile manner, committing many foul and outrageous abominations all the way they came into *England*. But oh how did God scatter them, and give us a great victory over them with a small number.

"And now, behold, a fourth war is broke forth (it makes me tremble to think of it), and I know not how to term it, for brethren goeth to war against brethren, contrary to their covenant. And the prayers of God's people go cross against one another; for I hear that God's people in *Scotland* have their days of humiliation in fasting and prayer that God would destroy this Army of Secta-

ries (as I believe some doeth the like here with us); and others among us which they call Independents, they pray that God would bless our army by Sea and Land, and destroy all their enemies that rise up against them. Truly these cross prayers of God's people doth very much trouble me, that I know not what to say, but to cry to God that the Lord would think upon His own children, which side soever they be."

In this letter he also mentions the death of his valued friend, Mr. Robrough, which had taken place in the previous January. He says:—"Our faithful Minister, Mr. *Robrough*, is dead, and is now at rest in the Lord. God doth house up many of His children from the storm that is coming, for there was never such contempt on the Ministers of Jesus Christ as it is now; therefore I fear Judgment cannot be far off."

This tribute to Mr. Robrough's memory is a remarkable proof of the high estimation in which Nehemiah could hold one, who, on some points, differed widely from him. The opinions of the amiable curate may be gathered from his evidence as one of the witnesses in a suit before the High Commission Court, promoted by Mr. Denison, the Vicar of St. Catherine's Cree, against John Etherington. Mr. Robrough's testimony was that the defendant "gave over his trade of Box-making, and betook himself to the expounding or interpreting of the holy Scriptures to others besides his own

family;" that he had ventured to dispute even with clergymen; that he "concurreth with the Separatists and Sectaries in private Assemblies; and he agreeth with the Familists [26] in the perfect purity of the soul after regeneration;" that he "hath also maintained and published that the Church of England is no true church of Christ, and that it teacheth false doctrine;" that he "hath maintained and published that the Sabbath since the Apostle's time was of no force, and that every day is a Sabbath," &c. The trial resulted in Etherington being censured and imprisoned for three years. His Defence, and Denison's Answer to the Defence, were published among the pamphlets of the time.

We will give an extract from one letter more, addressed to Mr. Church, whose levity, unbecoming a minister of the Gospel, seems to have grieved his pious kinsman. The letter is headed "To his Cozen," but Nehemiah signs himself "Your loving Uncle."

"Out of the care I have of God's glory," he writes, "the love to your soul, and the discharge of my duty, I make bold to write a few lines unto you, what my fears are (concerning you) that is, that you give too much liberty to the vanity of youth, which

[26] The Familists, or Family of Love, were a sect of enthusiastic fanatics, founded by Henry Nicholas, a Dutchman, in the middle of the sixteenth century. Fuller says of them (*Church History*, bk. ix. p. 38):—"These Familists attenuated the Scriptures into *Allegories*, and under pretence to turn it *into spirit*, made them aery, empty nothing." Neal states that "They had their private assemblies for devotion, for which they tasted of the severities of the government" (*History of the Puritans*, i. 273).

is to jests, to rhymes and songs, and other corruptions which your own conscience best knows, and, it may be, chides you for it.

"If you do not preach sound doctrine, woe be unto you; and if you do preach well and live ill, you build with one hand, and pull down with the other hand faster than you build. . . . .

"My desire is to put you in mind of what you know, that is, that those that take the charge of souls must give all diligence to have a good understanding in the word of God, and that the power of God given may be in your life and conversation. . . He is graceless that, having sight, doth lead the blind out of the way, because the blind will follow their leader.

"The people's eyes are never well opened until the light of their Minister do so shine before them, that they may see his good works and glorify God in following his example. Although you teach and preach very much and in plain words, yet your sheep will specially regard your practice of life, because their nature is to be led rather than to be driven. If there be gaps in your conversation, your sheep will thereby run out from Christ.

"A Minister ought to be grave and mild, and not jocund; jesting, light and scoffing behaviour doth not become a Minister, for he is the Messenger of God, and weighty is his message.

"O take heed of common company keeping, for by that the power of your office, which is much

grounded upon a reverent estimation, will be by company keeping many ways diminished. The appearance of any vice in a Minister doth disable his Ministry, especially pride and covetousness. I do not accuse you, but advise you. O that Ministers would in their apparel, their hair,[27] and gesture, use decency, shunning all vanity and bravery, whereby the humbleness and meekness of Jesus Christ might be seen in them. You that teach others to be content with that they have, ought to shew themselves free from filthy covetousness. Be a man of wisdom and of few words; be slow to speak, and short and sweet in speaking. A man full of words is full of many offences."

The next date we find is in the following note in the Guildhall Book:—

"March the third, 1653, I thought with Solomon to look over all my works, or Books that my hands did write, and I first begin with this Booke this morning; the Lord sanctify it to me that I may see what Mercies He hath done for me of old, and give Him all the praise and glory of it."

Gratitude for His mercies was a leading trait in his character; and in more than one of his books we find him writing more than once,

> "Prayer getteth any of God's blessings,
> And Thankfulness keepeth them."

The review of his books, however, does not seem

[27] Alluding, probably, to the "love-locks" of the Cavaliers.

to have been completed for more than five years, for he wrote in the Book of Letters :—

"*June* the xxiii, 1658, by the mercy of God I have read over this my writing book, which is copies of precious letters, wherein I observe a few things."

He then began an Index of Subjects, but went no further than page 36.

He had evidently written out more books than the four at which we have now rapidly glanced, for he alludes to one at least which we have not found. "Concerning the taking of *Berkeley Castle*," he writes, "look at my Book called God's great Mercies continued, page 140."

The Memorandum which we have just given from the Book of Letters is the last that we have found traced by his pen. The unfinished Index of Subjects in that book, the notice of his having been "ill" only a month before, and the inscription upon a fly-leaf in both his second and fourth books, as of the name of a subsequent possessor,

"Jonathan Haughton
September ix, 1658,"

appear to indicate that the death of the pious compiler took place in the summer of that year. He thus survived his beloved brother John for more than twelve months,[28] and lived to rejoice over the births of two grandchildren, another John, and a Sara; and was taken away before the Great Fire of

[28] John Wallington died in May 1657.

1666 laid waste his own neighbourhood, and destroyed his parish church.

It began at a baker's in Pudding Lane, and spread rapidly among the wooden houses closely packed together. After the fire, the levels of Eastcheap and of Pudding Lane were raised, but neither was widened. St. Leonard's was one of the eighty-seven churches that were burned down, and of the thirty-six that were not rebuilt, but united to other parishes. St. Benet, Gracechurch Street, was the one to which St. Leonard's was then "laid," as Stow informs us. It had contained some curious monuments to members of the Doggett family, and others.

We cannot close our sketch of the Life and Writings of Nehemiah Wallington without recording our deep obligations to those who have in various ways rendered valuable aid to our work: to Miss Stokes, of Tyndale House, Cheltenham; to John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A.; to the Authorities of the British Museum, for the permission to transcribe the MS., and for the facility afforded for the necessary researches; to W. H. Overall, Esq., F.S.A., of the Guildhall Library, for the free access he kindly allowed to the book under his charge; and to the Rev. C. Mackenzie, A.M., Rector of the United Parishes of Allhallows and St. Benet's, Gracechurch Street, and St. Leonard's, Eastcheap, who courteously permitted us to examine the registers of the latter parish.

R. Webb.

*London, November 3rd*, 1869.

# NEHEMIAH WALLINGTON'S

## HISTORICAL NOTICES.

## I.

To the Christian Reader—Deliverances to Queen Elizabeth, and to the whole Land in general—Historical Notes—Number of those who died in the Plague—A Great Bundle of Mercies.

*TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.*

O my God, what is done that Thou shouldest cause such a contemlestest creature and weak lips to set forth Thy glory, that am ready to stain and soil and take away the gloss and lustre of Thy most excellent shining glory, than any way to make it shine forth brighter? I say again, Lord, what is man, that Thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that Thou visitest him? I say, at these meditations of God's mercies, I stand amazed; and had I a heart so affected, I might admire and wonder at God's exceeding mercies, and say with the Apostle, Oh the deepness of the wisdom and knowledge of God, how unsearchable are His judgments and His ways (and mercies), past finding out.

*Deliverances to Queen* ELIZABETH, *and to the whole Land in general.*

There were some other mercies of deliverances than to the whole land in general, besides many great deliverances to Queen *Elizabeth*, one person.[1]

1578.—Don *John* of *Austria*, he was brother to the King of *Spain*; he practised to invade *England*, whereof failing, he died from grief. The King of *Spain* conspired to raise rebellion in *Ireland* by means of *Thomas Stukely*, an Englishman, who was slain in the field, with three kings with him.[2]

1580.—The Jesuits practise to depose the Queen from her royalty, then they disguised themselves, walking up and down sometimes like swaggering ruffians, sometimes like ministers, sometimes like noblemen, sometimes like soldiers, sometimes like apparitors, but at last all [were] taken, and hanged at *Tyburn*.

1583.—*Sommerville*, an Englishman, runs with a sword to kill the Queen, but by the way one met him, and stayed him, and cast him into prison; afterward he was found strangled in the jail.

1585.—Letters taken at sea torn in pieces, but blown into the ship again, and were placed together,

[1] These "deliverances" appear to have been taken from "Plots, Conspiracies, and Attempts of Domestick and Forraigne Enemies of the Romish Religion against the Princes and Kingdomes of England, Scotland, and Ireland, beginning with the Reformation of Religion under Queen Elizabeth unto this present Yeare, 1642. London, Printed for *Ralph Rounthwait*, 1642 (by order of Parliament)."—*King's Pamphlets*.

[2] See Appendix, Note A.

and there was found that the Pope and *Spain* was strongly combined[3] to invade *England;* but God disappointed them.

1586 [1585].—*William Parry,*[4] Doctor of the Civil Law, comes with his dagger purposely to kill the Queen; but he was struck full of fear and trembling, that he could not do it; then he was taken and hanged. This year *Rowland Yorke* and Sir *William Standly*, fourteen of them, turned traitors, and would have killed the Queen; and in Giles' Fields they did consult and lay their projects; and there they were hanged and quartered.

1587.—*William Stafford*[5] was hired to kill the Queen, but *Stafford* revealed it. *Lopez,* a doctor, was hanged at *Tyburn* for seeking to poison the Queen.

1589.—*Squire* did practise to poison the Queen's saddle, that she by laying her hand on it, and touching any part of her face or body with the said hand or glove, might be envenomed deadly; but he was taken, and hanged at *Tyburn.*[6]

Thus we see how our God hath mercifully pre-

[3] Combinded.

[4] "By birth a Welchman, of obscure parentage and meaner fortunes, by his stile a Doctor of the Law, but indued with little learning, a man puffed vp, and haughty in mind, very spruse and neat."—*Camden*, 1625.

"....That vile and vngrateful traitor, *William Parry*, vpon whom the Queene had poured plentifully her liberalitie, deserueth to be had in euerlasting remembrance to his shame; whose treasons being discouered, he payed the tribute of his life in recompence thereof."—Beard's *Theatre of God's Jvdgements*, London, 1632.

[5] His mother was one of the Ladies of Honour.

[6] See Appendix, Note B.

served Queen *Elizabeth* and her kingdom, from all the Pope's treacherous practices, four-and-forty years, five months, and odd days, with such glory and peace as never Christian king had more.[7]

*Historical Notes.*

Oh consider God's exceeding great mercy toward our gracious Prince *Charles* when he went into *Spain*, in preserving him on the turbulent, raging seas, and in keeping and preserving our gracious prince from Romish temptations, even from Papists which delight in blood,[8] and so God's mercy was seen in bringing him home unto us in safety again to all our joys and comforts.

Great was the enterprise and hazard of our gracious prince in *Spain*,
But greater was God's mercy to guard him back again.

[In [*October*] 1623 Prince *Charles* came from *Spain*, and here in *London* was great joy with ringing of bells and making of bonfires all over the city.

And when the Prince *Charles* was in *Spain*, the last day of *June*, being *Thursday*, it was as fair a sunshiny day as any hath been since; a clap of thunder struck away his Majesty's flag and flagstaff from the maintopmast head of a ship riding at

[7] See Appendix, Note C.

[8] "Those two late blessings, if no more, were worthy of immortal memory; the Prince out of Spain, Religion out of the dust. For the one; what a winter was there in all good hearts, when our sun was gone so far southward! how cheerful a spring in his return!"—*Bishop Hall's Works*, vol. v. p. 252, London, 1808. See also May's *History of the Parliament of England*, Oxford, 1854; and Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, part i. vol. i. pp. 77, 83, 90.

*Blackwall*, bound for *Spain*, with poultry and other provision of victual to fetch the prince home.

Two men and a woman, making hay in a field near *Croydon*, were killed with a clap of thunder at the same time.

The next *Thursday* following, 7 of *July*, the same year, the like thunder struck away the crown and vane from the clockhouse[9] at *James' Park*, and melted a piece of the bell. It also killed a gardener near the neathouse;[10] his wife was struck down, but she revived. It tore divers houses at the bowling alley near *Westminster*.

Also the same year it was credibly reported that a pond near four mile from *Oxford* did stand three days of the colour of blood. All these things happened when the Prince *Charles* was in *Spain*.

1623.—It is not unknown to many that five or six years since, one of the crowns and vanes of the Tower was turned off the spindle whereon it had stood, (many years before) by a gust of wind. The crown and vane did weigh an hundred weight at least.

About five years since there was a great circle about the sun, at noontime of the day (it was as clear a sunshine day as any use to be), and it was of all

[9] See Appendix, Note D.

[10] "*Neat-houses* are a parcel of houses, most seated on the banks of the River *Thames*, and inhabited by gardiners; for which it is of note for the supplying *London* and *Westminster* markets with *asparagus*, *artichoaks*, *cauliflowers*, *musmelons*, and the like useful things that the earth produceth; which, by reason of their keeping the ground so rich by dunging it (and through the nearness to *London*, they have the soil cheap), doth make their crops very forward, to their great profit in coming to such good markets."—*Stow*.

the colours of the rainbow; but it were of such dismal fearful colours as hath not been seen, as I hear, in any age. It lasted so from ten till four in afternoon.

Some 8 years since it rained a thing like wheat in *Wiltshire* (as I hear).]

*Number of those that died of the Plague.*

The Miracle of Mercy, with prayer, fasting, and thanksgiving, declared and expressed to show the great goodness of God in remembering His mercy to us these late years, 1625 and 1626, with the true number of those that died of the plague in the most of the chiefest parts of this land.[11]

In and about *London*, from the 22 of *December*, 1624, to the 23 of *December*, 1625, of all diseases, 63,001. In one week, in *London* and the Liberties, *August* 18, Anno 1625, of all diseases, 5205; of the plague, 4463. The same year, *March* 9, of all diseases, in *London* and the Liberties, in one week but 141; of the plague none, a miracle of mercy.

| | Of all Diseases. | Plague. |
|---|---|---|
| Buried in London and the Liberties .. .. | 54,265 .. | 35,417 |
| „ Westminster .. .. .. .. | 2,540 .. | 1,669 |
| „ Watford .. .. .. .. .. | 0 .. | 73 |

[11] "This summer, the pestilence raged in *London*. At the entrance of the late King there was a great plague in the City, but this was far greater, and the greatest that ever was known in the nation: for which causes a great part of *Trinity* Term was adjourned from the First Return to the Fourth, by the advice of the Privy Council, and the Justices of the Courts at *Westminster*."—Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, part i. p. 171.

| | Of all Diseases. | Plague. |
|---|---|---|
| Buried in Lambeth .. .. .. .. .. | 631 .. | 389 |
| „ Isleworth .. .. .. .. .. | 0 .. | 92 |
| „ Newington .. .. .. .. .. | 864 .. | 43 |
| „ Hounslow .. .. .. .. .. | 0 .. | 39 |
| „ Stepney .. .. .. .. .. | 4,089 .. | 3,022 |
| „ Hackney .. .. .. .. .. | 270 .. | 171 |
| „ Islington .. .. .. .. .. | 342 .. | 242 |

*Oxford*, 21 *July* to the 29 of *Decem.*, plague, 172; *Exeter*, plague, 2177; *Plymouth*, all diseases, 3000; *Greenwich*, 351; *Richmond*, plague, 150; *Putney*, 55; *Potton*, 40; *Bridport*, 60; *Henley-on-Thames*, 72; *Brentford*, 65; *Colchester*, 562; *Norwich*, from 22 *July*, 1625, to the 10 of *Novem.*, 1626, of all diseases, 3835—of the plague, 1431; *Yarmouth North Walsham*, 33; *Kingston-upon-Thames*, 165; *Highgate*, 86.

### *A Great Bundle of Mercies.*

Now of all the mercies and deliverances, this great and miraculous mercy of God to us in *England* now of late years (next to God's mercy in His Christ) exceeds all former mercies and deliverances that ever I have heard or read of. For we were sold to be destroyed, to be slain, and to perish; but to make God's mercy the more appear in our deliverance, I will first shew unto you the most dangerous condition we were in, the like was never heard of; it is worse than that in 88, or that horrible Gunpowder Plot.

Surely, the Pope and cardinals, the friars and priests and Jesuits, nay, I think great *Beelzebub*,

with all the devils in hell, hath laid their heads together to consult and contrive about this hellish plot to undermine and overturn the gospel.[12] Oh they would have robbed us of our God, our Christ, even of all our excellency and glory; but, oh for ever, ever praised be our God which hath delivered us from this devilish, hellish snare of the cruel hunter. Oh how hath idolatry crept in by little and little, and so with it all manner of sins. Oh how cunningly and craftily hath the enemies of God's free grace brought in superstition;[13] and men's inventions and traditions (and in their service book) bring in now a little, and then adding a little more, so that now they have brought it to a height. So that now it is high time for God to work, for men do transgress His law, for they make the law of God of no effect through their traditions. And who is he that belongs unto God that is able to hold their tongue at this their great folly and abominations? Therefore, as God enables me, I will do my best endeavours to shew unto you their abominations, and so to set forth God's abundant mercy to us, and our great deliverance out of this spiritual Egypt, and corporal Egypt, even palpable darkness, worse than the darkness of Egypt; but

[12] *Vide* Discovery of the Jesuits' College at Clerkenwell, in March, 1627–8, *Camden's Miscellany*, vol. ii.

[13] "Friday, February 13 (1628).—The Parliament fell into consideration of the great increase of Popery."—*Rushworth.*

"We know of late in this kingdom our gentry were nothing but slaves and vassals to the Popish priests, especially the prelates."—*Burroughs on Hosea* (Nichol's edition, Edinburgh, 1863).

now God of His mercy hath made their great folly and wickedness known unto all men, what cruel and barbarous butchers they have been unto the precious souls and bodies of many men, women and children. I will now write them down as (I have read of and as) God shall bring them to my mind.

Those many things wholesomely commanded in Holy Scripture are not regarded; our presses formerly opened only to truth and piety, are closed up against them both of late, and now open for the most part to nought but error, superstition, and profaneness, erroneous, impious books. And our prelates who lord it over God's heritage, do not only alter divers men's books, putting out, and putting in, what they think good, but also the Common Prayer Book; amongst other things, they have dashed out this, "Thou hast delivered us from superstition and idolatry." Oh how be our weekly lectures suppressed in divers countries, and [they] have likewise lately shut up the mouths of sundry of our most godly, powerful, painful ministers, out of mere malice to religion and the people's salvation, contrary to the very laws of God and the Realm, strictly prohibited, under pain of suspension, in sundry dioceses, all afternoon sermons on the Lord's Day, that so the profane vulgar might have more time to dance, play, revel, drink, and profane God's Sabbaths.[14]

Oh how have our lordly bishops and prelates

[14] See Neal's *History of the Puritans*, iii. pp. 185, 186. London, 1822.

endeavoured to corrupt the Church with errors; they have with their lies troubled the whole land, nay, all the king's dominions, with falsehoods, and have moved troubles by their establishing of Popish ceremonies, by binding the consciences of men to the observation of them, as setting up of altars, images, and crucifixes, bowings, cringings, and the like, of which St. *Paul* warned the Colossians to take heed of, saying, Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ.[15]

[15] See Appendix, Note E.

# II.

THE BLAZING STAR—STRANGE SIGHTS IN THE AIR.

## *The Blazing Star.*

[*NOVEMBER the First*, 1618, King *James* going to *Whitehall* to *New Market*, delighting himself with the recreation of hawking and hunting, news was brought him of this dreadful sight of a comet or blazing star,[1] which caused his Majesty to send for some learned mathematicians from the University of *Cambridge*, to satisfy him touching the future events; whereupon Doct. *Cumbers*, Doct. *Mansel*, and some others, attended his Majesty at court, desiring to be excused in delivering their opinions upon so high a point; whereupon his Majesty gave this construction in these words following:—

"Gentlemen,—The body of this great star is over *Germany*, and it denounceth much war and desolation to that nation, but the tail of the star is over my dominions and territories, and the sting, the sting (laying his hand upon his breast twice, expressing the same), it is in the tail, denoting that the greatest smart of it, and sharpest execution of all, will chiefly centre and have its primary influence upon me, or my children."

How true this prophetical presage hath fallen out, the world may judge.[2]

[1] See Appendix, Note F. [2] See Appendix, Note G.

In *November* the 17, 1618, was the blazing star seen here in *England* oftentimes in a fortnight together in a terrible manner, with fiery streams, to the amazement and terror of many; this same year there were seen two blazing stars, the one being southest from us pointing towards *England*, the other, over its head, in *Ireland*. The same astronomers did find out that the tail of the star did hang over *England* three degrees and a half, every degree in astronomy is seven years, which three degrees and a half being accounted up, amounteth to twenty-four years and a half.

After this, in the year 1621, a poor man of *Buckinghamshire*, that went all in black clothes, with his hat commonly under his arm, did for the space of one whole year, commonly three days in a week, before the gate of *Whitehall* (King *James* being then at *Whitehall*,) (like unto him at *Jerusalem*, that cried woe to *Jerusalem*, forty years before it was destroyed, and was at last killed himself), he did make a prayer of three-quarters of an hour long; it was an effectual prayer against the sins of those times, calling for woe and vengeance on all Papists, and all that did adhere to Popery; and when he had made an end of his prayer, he used to go even through *London*, with his hat under his arm, crying, Woe to *Rome*, woe to all Papists, woe to the Pope, with many other execrations against Papists, &c.

I myself have seen and heard him at the corner of the street, crying, Woe to *London*, woe to the

inhabitants of *London*. And my father and I came by water in a boat with this man, and my father had some speech with him, and he told my father, he must go into other countries. He was counted a mad man, but I am sure he talked very sensible,[3] and honestly; but I must need say, I did not hear him bring from the word of God any sound ground for what he did.]

### *Of Strange Sights in the Air.*

[1628. A copy of a letter sent by Mr. *John Hoskins*, dwelling at *Wantage* in *Berkshire*, to his son-in-law, Mr. *Dawson*, a gunsmith dwelling in the *Minories* without *Aldgate*.

"Mr. *Dawson*,—The cause of my writing to you at this time is by reason of an accident that the Lord sent among us. I have heard of the Lord by the hearing of the ear, as the prophet speaketh, but now mine eyes hath seen Him. You will marvel that I write thus, for no man hath seen God at any time, yet in His works we see Him daily, but now after a more special manner. But to come to the matter, it was this: on *Wednesday* before *Easter*, being the ninth of *April*, about six of the clock, in the afternoon, there was such a noise in the air, and after such a strange manner, as the oldest man alive never heard the like. And it began as followeth: First, as it were, one piece of ordnance went off alone. Then after that, a little

[3] Sinchable.

distance, two more, and then they went as thick as ever I heard a volley of shot in all my life; and after that, as if it were the sound of a drum, to the amazement of me, your mother, and a hundred more besides; yet this was not all, but, as it is reported, there fell divers stones, but two is certain, in our knowledge. The one fell at *Chalows*, half a mile off, and the other at *Barking*, five miles off. Your mother was at the place where one of them fell knee deep, till it came at the very rock, and when it came at the hard rock, it broke, and being weighed, all the pieces together, they weighed six-and-twenty pound. The other, that was taken up in the other place, weighed half a tod, 14 pound. Now let the Atheist (consider this, that say all things come by nature) stand amazed at this work of the Lord. But let it be to us, as *Jonathan's* arrows were to *David*, a warning to flee from the wrath to come.

"There fell hailstones so big that a pint pot could not hold five of them. The common water they used was altered, that it stained their cloth put into it."

*November* the 18th, 1644. It is attested by several persons of credit, this being the king's birth-day, there appeared three suns, in a contrary way to the usual, and a rainbow, with the bend towards the earth, compassing one of the suns within the bow, and the two ends of the bow going upward, butted on the end of one sun, and the other to the other.]

# III.

FALL OF A HOUSE—MEMORIAL OF THE BURNING OF LONDON BRIDGE.

## *Fall of a House.*

[1623. THE xxvi of *October*, a great company being at a house at *Blackfriars*, to hear Mr. *Drury*, a Jesuit, preach, the house was three stories high, and full of people, fell down and killed almost a hundred persons. It was on the Lord's day.[1]

Here are some of the names of such persons as were slain.

Mr. Drury, the priest.
Mr. Rediate, priest.
Lady Webbe.
Lady Blackeson's daughter.
Thomas Webbe, her man.
William Robinson, tailor.
Robert Smith, apothecarie's man.
Mrs. Davison's daughter.
Anthony Hall, his man.
Anne Hobdin.
Mary Hobdin.
John Galloway.
Mr. Pierson, his wife, and two sons.
Mrs. Udal.
Abigail, her maid, with two more in her house.
John Netlam.
Nathaniel Coles.
John Halifax.
John Warrale's son.
Mr. Becket.
Thomas Mersit, his wife, son, and maid.
Mrs. Samuel, and Mary her maid.
Andrew White's daughter.
Thomas Elu.
Michael Butler.
Edmund Rivales.
Bartholomew Baine.
John Brabant.
Mrs. Stakers.
Elizabeth Stumper.
Mrs. Westwoode.
Judith Billowes.
Sir Lewis Pemberton's man.
Elizabeth More.
John James.
Morris Bengresse.
Davy Vaughan.
Anne Field.
Mrs. Ploiden.

[1] Appendix, Note H.

Robert Heisime.
One Medafe.
Mr. Manfield.
Mr. Simons.
Thomas Simmons.
Robert Panverkes.
Miss Morton and her maid.
Frances Downes.
Edmund Shey.
Joshua Perry.
John Tulley.
Robert Drury.
Thomas Draper.
John Staigges.
Davy.
Richard Price.
Thomas Wood.
Christopher Hobbs.
John Butler.
Mrs. Bucket's man.

The husband cries out, Oh my loving wife!
The wife cries out, Oh, save my husband dear!
The father cries, Would I had lost my life!
His children's woes doth touch his heart so near,
All things so rueful, dreadful, do appear.

The brother bids the sister quite adieu;
The sister cries, Farewell, my loving brother;
The infant's loss doth make the mother rue;
The child cries out, Oh, where is my careful mother?
All these (alas!) stones, lime, and timber smother.

The servant cries, Oh, I have lost my master;
The master for his servant doth complain;
The faithful friend laments his friend's disaster,
Wishing that for his sake himself was slain;—
Thus tears gush out on every side amain.

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## *A Memorial of the Burning of London Bridge.*[2]

[Come and behold the works of God; He is terrible in His doings towards the sons of men.—*Psalm* lxvi.

[2] "There happened in the house of one *Briggs*, a needlemaker near *St. Magnus* Church, at the *north* end of the bridge (by the carelessness of a maid-servant, setting a tub of hot seacoal ashes under a pair of stairs), a sad and lamentable fire, which consumed all the buildings before eight of the clock the next morning, from the *north* end of the bridge, to the first vacancy on both sides, containing forty-two houses; water then being very scarce, the *Thames* being almost frozen over."—*Stow.*

'It is the Lord that formeth the light and created the darkness; He maketh peace, and createth evil. 'I the Lord do all these things.—*Isaiah* xlv.

There is no evil in the city, which the Lord hath not done in it.—*Amos* iii. 6.

It is the bounden duty of us all, that have been the beholders of the wonderful works of the Lord our God, His mercies and judgments, shewed heretofore, and now of late of a fearful fire, we should not forget it ourselves, but we should declare it to all others, even to the generations to come.

On the 11th day of *February*, being *Monday*, 1633, began by God's just hand a fearful fire in the house of one Mr. *John Brigges*, near ten of the clock at night; it burnt down his house with all the goods that were in it; and as I hear, that *Brigges*, his wife, his child, and maid escaped with their lives very hardly, having on their bodies but their shirts and smocks; and the fire burnt so fiercely that it could not be quenched till it had burnt down all the houses on both sides of the way, from St. *Magnus* Church to the first open place. And although there was water enough very near, yet they could not safely come at it. But all the conduits near were opened, and the pipes that carried water through the streets were cut open, and the water swept down with brooms, with help enough; but it was the will of God it should not prevail. And the hand of God was more seen in this, in as much as no means could prosper. For the three engines, which are such excellent things, yet none of these did prosper,

for they were broken, and the tide was very low, that they could get no water, and the pipes that were cut yielded but little water. Some ladders were broke to the hurt of many, for some had their legs broke, some their arms; some, their ribs were broke, and some lost their lives. This fire burnt fiercely all night, and part of the next day (for my man was there about twelve o'clock, and said he did see the furthest[3] house on fire), till all was burnt and pulled down to the ground; yet the timber, wood and coals in the cellars could not be quenched all that week, till *Tuesday* following in the afternoon, the 19th of *February*, for I was there then myself, and had a live coal of a fire in my hand. Notwithstanding there were as many, night and day, as could labour one by another to carry away timber and bricks and tiles and rubbish cast down into litters. So that on *Wednesday* the bridge was cleared that passengers might go over.

At the beginning of this fire, as I lay in my bed and heard the sweeping of the channels and crying for water, I arose, about one of the clock, and looked down *Fish Street Hill*, and did behold such a fearful and dreadful fire, vaunting itself over the tops of houses like a captain flourishing and displaying his banner, and seeing so much means, and so little good it did, it made me think of that fire which the Lord threateneth against *Jerusalem* for the breach of His Sabbath. He saith thus: But if ye will not hear me to sanctify the Sabbath day, then will

[3] Furdest.

I kindle a fire in the gates thereof, and it shall devour the palaces of *Jerusalem*, and it shall not be quenched.—*Jerem.* xvii. 27.

And this mercy of God I thought on, that there was but little wind, for had the wind been as high as it was a week before, I think it would have endangered the most part of the city, for in *Thames Street* there is much pitch, tar, rosin, and oil in their houses. Therefore, as God remembers mercy in justice, let us remember thankfulness in sorrow.

Therefore will I praise the Lord with my whole heart, and I will speak of all Thy marvellous works.

For it is Thy mercy, Lord, that we are not consumed.—*Lam.* iii.

The names and trades, and number of the houses burnt upon the bridge here you may see underneath :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Mr. William Vynor .. | Haberdasher of small wares .. | i |
| 2. Mr. John Broome .. .. | Hosier .. .. .. .. .. .. | ii |
| 3. Mr. Arthur Lee .. .. | Haberdasher of small wares .. | iii |
| 4. Mrs. Johanna Broome .. | Hosier .. .. .. .. .. | iv |
| 5. Mr. Ralph Panne .. .. | Shewmaker .. .. .. .. | v |
| 6. Mr. Abraham Marten .. | Haberdasher of hats .. .. .. | vi |
| 7. Mr. Jeremiah Champney | Hosier .. .. .. .. .. .. | vii |
| 8. Mr. John Terrill .. .. | Silkman .. .. .. .. .. | viii |
| 9. Mr. Ellis Midmore .. | Milliner .. .. .. .. .. | ix |
| 10. Mr. Francis Finch .. | Hosier .. .. .. .. .. | x |
| 11. Mr. Andrew Bouth .. | Haberdasher of small wares .. | xi |
| 12. Mr. Samuel Petty .. .. | Glover .. .. .. .. .. | xii |
| 13. Mr. Valentine Beale .. | Mercer .. .. .. .. .. | xiii |
| 14. Mr. Chambers, Senior .. | .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | xiv |
| 15. Mr. Jeremiah Chamley | Silkman .. .. .. .. .. | xv |
| 16. The Blue Boar .. .. | Empty .. .. .. .. .. | xvi |
| 17. Mr. John Gower .. .. | Stiller of strong waters .. .. | xvii |
| 18. Mr. John Wilding, Jun. | Girdler .. .. .. .. .. | xviii |
| 19. Mr. Daniel Conney .. | Silkman .. .. .. .. .. | xix |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 20. | Mr. Stephen Beale .. | Linendraper .. .. .. .. | xx |
| 21. | Mrs. Jane Langham .. | Mercer .. .. .. .. .. | xxi |
| 22. | Mr. James Dunkin .. | Woollendraper .. .. .. .. | xxii |
| 23. | Mr. Matthew Harding .. | Salter .. .. .. .. .. .. | xxiii |
| 24. | Mr. Abraham Chambers | Haberdasher of small wares .. | xxiv |
| 25. | Mr. Lyne Dainell .. | Haberdasher of hats (double house) | xxv |
| 26. | | | xxvi |
| 27. | Mrs. Brokes .. .. .. | Glover .. .. .. .. .. | xxvii |
| 28. | Mr. Coverly .. .. .. | Hosier .. .. .. .. .. .. | xxviii |
| 29. | Mr. John Dransfield .. | Grocer .. .. .. .. .. | xxix |
| 30. | Mr. Newman .. .. | Empty .. .. .. .. .. | xxx |
| 31. | Mr. Edward Warnet and | Haberdashers of small wares .. | xxxi |
| 32. | Mr. Samuel Wood, partner | | xxxii |
| 33. | Mr. John Green .. .. | Haberdasher of hats .. .. .. | xxxiii |
| 34. | Mr. Hugh Powell .. .. | Haberdasher of hats .. .. .. | xxxiv |
| 35. | Mr. Samuel Armitage .. | Haberdasher of small wares .. | xxxv |
| 36. | Mr. John Shirley .. .. | Haberdasher of small wares .. | xxxvi |
| 37. | Mr. John Lawrymore .. | Grocer .. .. .. .. .. | xxxvii |
| 38. | Mr. Timothy Drake .. | Woollendraper .. .. .. .. | xxxviii |
| 39. | Mr. John Brigges .. .. | Needlemaker .. .. .. .. | xxxix |
| 40. | Mr. Richard Shelbury .. | Scrivener .. .. .. .. .. | xl |
| 41. | Mr. Edward Green .. | Hosier .. .. .. .. .. .. | xli |
| 42. | Mr. Hazard .. .. .. | The Curate at St. Magnus | xlii |
| 43. | Mr. Hewlett .. .. .. | The Clerk Cloister | xliii |

I heard say that twelve days after the fire was on the bridge, that Doctor *Stoughton* did say in his sermon on his lecture night, *February* 23, that there was twelve fires since that on the bridge.

But the good Lord our God teach us so that we may not be vain beholders or hearers of this wonderful and fearful, yet just work of the Lord, but that we may all make such use of this and all other His judgments and mercies as He requireth in His word we should do, and as other of His children have done, that we may not be so unwise as those that came to our Saviour Christ and told Him of the Galileans, that we should suppose that those that

had their houses and goods burnt upon the bridge were greater sinners than all the rest of the city of *London*, because they suffered such things.

Let us all be humbled under the hand of the Lord. For the Lord is a Father that hangs betwixt anger and pity, resolved on neither, but inclined to this that the carriage of his children may call for, by striking further if they stoop not, and desisting from stripes if they do. O how many dwelling places are become desolate! How are the labours of many a father, grandfather, great-grandfather, suddenly converted into smoke and rubbish in the space of a night and a day!

And herein a Christian may take comfort, that God is his God and loving Father, and seeing Christian riches are in God's keeping, he must count himself to have lost nothing, so long as God hath lost nothing. The Lord of heaven hath as much money and as much mercy now, as ever He had, and it is easy with God to restore you more than all this, which the raging flames have devoured. And if He see it fit for you, He will more than make up your losses, and cause your latter end to be more plentiful than your beginning, as it was with *Job*.

O let us praise God for sparing *Thames Street*, where there is so much pitch, tar, rosin, and oil! O how much more would this terrible fire have vaunted itself if it had cast hold there! O then we might have feared the whole city! Are we not happy that our goods and houses alone, not our

wives and children, our limbs and bodies, have been preyed upon by the fury of this insufferable element, that we, ourselves nor our friends, have not been half burnt. We must as well look from what we have been delivered, as what we have endured, that our thankfulness may moderate our sorrows, and our joy in one may temper our griefs for the other.

Consider again, of the principal instrument of this desolation; the fire, a furious element; this fire came riding, as it were in triumph, through the street, disdaining all resistance, till it had passed to the end of the houses, and could not be restrained. Now is not this creature of very common use? What day is it wherein we have not necessary use of fire? What week wherein some such carelessness as produced this calamity is not to be found among us? And how seldom have we given the Lord any particular thanks for taking orders with this His creature, that he should not wrong us!][4]

[4] This account of the fire on London Bridge was given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for November 1824, pp. 387, 388, by Mr. Upcott, who then possessed the volume which contained it; and was subsequently copied by the author of the *Chronicles of London Bridge* (London, 1839), who also gives an engraving of the bridge before the fire took place, p. 291.

## IV.

### Of Heavy Times to the Poor Children of God.

Here is some part of a letter that came from *Cambridge*, in June the 11, 1635.

"That at *Cambridge* Doctor *Collins*, Provost of *King's* College, he maintains transubstantiation, and many points of Popery, and preacheth that it is fit that we should meet the Papists half way, both in preaching and in practice. *Perne*, the Popish Master of *Peterhouse*, he preacheth many Popish points, and maintains them in doctrine, and practice, and disputations. It is also true that Latin service is often read in *Peterhouse* Chapel with much devotion, and a high altar in *Queen's* College; in most places there is much thanks to God for saints departed, especially for the Virgin *Mary*. The altar in *Peterhouse* Chapel hath crosses on every seat, with a basin silver and gilt, two silver and gilt candlesticks, with wax tapers in them, and two books full of silver crosses instead of bosses, and the books covered with plush, crimson, or scarlet, and purple, and the altar hanged upon the walls down to the ground, with scarlet and purple, two cushions, scarlet at either end and many such like trumperies, there is much homage and worship done to these relics in all places where they are,

there is much adoration given at the naming of the bare name Jesus, with hat and knee. Now, if the Fountain be thus corrupted,[1] what do you think the springs must needs be?"

About this time I had a writing come to my hand which are these grievous things that must be holden with us:

I. That they that are baptized are truly regenerate.

II. That a minister cannot, with a safe conscience, administer the Sacrament to one that doth not kneel.

III. That a canonical man may possess more benefices than one.

IV. That unregenerate men have right to temporal goods in God's court.

V. That ministerial power of forgiving sins is not merely declarative.

VI. That the order of Bishops is by the law of God.

VII. That bowing at the name of Jesus is a pious ceremony.

VIII. That the voices of the people are not required to the election of ministers.

IX. That Christ descended locally into hell.

X. That the Church of *Rome* is a Church truly so called.

The holy people of the Lord seeing idolatry, superstition, and all manner of profaneness, are grieved; but they know not what course to take to have it reformed, for

[1] See Appendix, Note I.

1. If they complain at the visitation, they do but, like birds, run among lime twigs, and, instead of reforming the Church, hamper themselves into troubles.

2. If they complain to the minister of the parish, either he is one that will be ready to defend it, or, if he be an honest minister that would gladly see these things reformed, yet he dares not speak, for fear of suspension, or, if he do complain, he is silenced, if not suspended *ipse facto*; yea, it may be, lose his ears for his labour, too.

3. If they complain to the magistrate, he dares not meddle with it, to go about any reformation, because he will say it belongs to the Church. Oh what a misery is this for any Church to be under such government, thus to bewail her woeful misery, and cannot be reformed.

4. Those ministers who are under any Bishop's diocese have their mouths so stopped by their lordly prelate, that they dare not reprove any heresy, idolatry, or wickedness which the Bishop doth either practise in himself, or favour in others.

5. If any heresy be in the Church, any drunkard, or Papist that can but get into the Bishop's favour, either by bribes, or friends, or any other way; then may such profane persons still abide, and go on from time to time in their filthiness without controlment.

And therefore, O *England, England*, if ever thou wilt be free from judgments, take notice of these thy Antichristian prelates' desperate prac-

tices, innovations, Popish designs, and admire of God's mercy and longsuffering towards us in *England*. Oh, do but consider what the issue of their proceedings might produce, should they have gone on in bringing superstition and idolatry into the Church, as may appear by their gestures, by their ornaments, and by their actions.

1. By their gestures in their bowing and adorations before the altar with their faces toward the east, or at the name of Jesus, as if God was enclosed in the altar. As if the east were fuller of God's majesty than the west, or other parts, and as if the name Jesus was above, or before, the name Jehovah; all which is idolatry and superstition.

2. By their ornaments, in that they would make us believe that holiness is in the surplice, cap, tippet, or cope, above other garments; that the altar is holier than the rest of the Temple, and that the Temple walls make the people holy. And by these ceremonies our lord Bishops and prelates would have us to worship God, which is nothing but idolatry and superstition; therefore saith the prophet *Jeremiah:* Trust not in lying words, saying, the Temple of the Lord.—*Jere.* vii. 4.

3. By their actions, in that they assume to themselves lordly titles, and rule over ministers, which our Saviour Christ reproveth, saying, If any man desire to be first, the same shall be last.—*Mar.* ix. 35. And yet how do they by their lordly government silence and punish holy and faithful ministers and others, because they will not yield

to their trash and rubbish which the holy word of God is so manifest against, and so any drunken, base man that is according to their mind, he is esteemed and put in their place; thus vile men is exalted, and they that work wickedness are set up. —*Mal.* iii. 15.

Then there was about that time come forth a filthy, cunning oath, veiled over with fine words, as followeth:—

"I do swear before the Almighty and ever-living God, that I will bear all faithful allegiance to my true and undoubted sovereign lord, King *Charles*, who is lawful king of this island, and all other his kingdoms and dominions both by sea and land, and by the laws of God and man, and by lawful succession. And that I will constantly and cheerfully, even to the uttermost hazard of my life and fortunes, constantly oppose all seditions, rebellions, conspiracies, covenants, conjurations, and treasons whatsoever, against his Royal dignity, crown, or person, raised or set up under what pretence or colour soever, and if it shall come veiled under pretence of religion, I hold it the more abominable before God and man. And this I take voluntarily, and in faith of a good Christian, and loyal subject, without any equivocation or mental reservation whatsoever, from which I hold no power on earth can absolve in any part."

About this time there was a turning of the Communion tables altarwise, with rails about them; but I cannot reckon up the many superstitious

things of man's inventions that were then crept in.[2] And still we continued in a most miserable and woeful condition, and about *May* 1640 (May 29th) there came forth a most grievous, cunning snare, a cursed book of Canons, with a filthy execrable oath, that must be imposed upon all ministers, upon loss of their livings. Now here I will borrow something out of another book called, "England's Complaint to Jesus Christ against the Bishops' Canons," which doth unfold unto you something concerning those filthy Canons:[3]

"Let the subject be brought into one of their Ecclesiastical Courts, whether into their High Commission, or other Courts, where the Arch-prelates sit, party Judges, and be his cause never so just, never so innocent, never so clear, as against which no law of the land doth lie, yet first of all in those courts he cannot have any benefit of the Law at all, and, consequently, where those Ecclesiastical Judges set their fangs they will tear a man out of all his estate, yea, out of his skin, and pull his flesh from his back, and break him and his all in pieces.

"The Third Canon is for suppressing of the

[2] See Appendix, Note J.

[3] A small anonymous, closely printed pamphlet published in 1640, entitled "England's Complaint to Jesus Christ against the Bishops' Canons of the late sinful Synod, a seditious Conventicle, a Packe of Hypocrites, a Sworne Confederacy, a Traiterous Conspiracy against the True Religion of Christ, and the Weale Publicke of the Land, and, consequently against the Kingdome and Crowne. In this *Complaint* are specified those *impieties* and *insolencies*, which are most notorious, scattered through the *Canons* and *Constitutions* of the said Sinfull Synod. And confuted by arguments annexed hereunto."—*King's Pamphlets.*

growth of Popery. O Lord, dost Thou not see in this whole long Canon the naked hypocrisy of this Synod, clothing itself with many fair fig leaves of pious pretences (forsooth) for the suppressing of Popery? Yea, Lord, their hypocrisy is so palpable herein, that all the world sees that this constitution was purposely made to blind the eyes of the simple in these stirring times, wherein they see their Popish practices to grow into such hatred and detestation with all the king's good subjects. For subjects not to bear arms against their king, offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatsoever, as being a resisting of the powers ordained of God. First, no private person ought to take up arms against his prince; secondly, if a king maintain a faction about him which go about to oppress his whole kingdom and people in their law and liberties, and most of all in the true religion, so as he will not rule them by the good laws of the kingdom, but seeks to make all his subjects slaves by bringing their souls, bodies, estates under a miserable bondage, is it not now high time for the whole State either to labour to heal the breach, or of necessity, when there is no other remedy, to stand up as one man to defend themselves and their country, until the faction shall be utterly cashiered, and so the king reform himself, and renew the covenant and conditions of the kingdom to the good and just satisfaction of the people; and whereas this point trencheth upon the Scots at this time, what do they stand upon but, in the first place, to free their religion

from Antichristian usurpation, and their good laws and liberties from a violation and forcible invasion? And when a whole nation thus universally and uniformly stands up in such a quarrel, it cannot but be ascribed to the overruling and righteous hand, that thereby Thou mightest both defend the people's rights and preserve the State of the kingdom to the king himself and his posterity, which otherwise, by oppression and tyranny, would be brought to confusion.—*Psalm* lxxii. 4.

"Or shall we think these hypocrites mean as they say, when, pretending to suppress Popery, they practise the suppressing of God's word, which had it a free course, it would root up more Popish plants with one sound sermon, than all the bishops and their chaplains by their private conference in a whole year? Or, if they intended this seriously, why did they not begin at the Court and at the Queen's Chapel?[4] Doth not all the world know that she is a Papist, and by the means of her example chapels, priests, friars, are not many thousands, both in court and city, and other places, brought into that snare? So this sacred Synod should either have taken a right and sound course indeed, first in reforming the Court, or else not to have meddled with this at all. They should first have rid all churches from images, crucifixes, crosses, altars, and the like, lest by bringing Papists to church, they should but change their Latin Popery to English Popery. And now, O Lord, we beseech

[4] See Appendix, Note K.

Thee to judge of the hypocrisy of this self-styled sacred Synod which, under a pretence of suppressing the growth of Popery, do indeed supplant the true faith and religion amongst us, that so instead thereof they may at length, as fast as they can, set up idolatry in her throne. For, besides all this that is said, have they not set out many notorious Popish books, as that called the Female Glory,[5] which makes the blessed Virgin to be a goddess to be adored and called upon, or prayed unto, the whole book being a very pack of idolatry throughout, and set out in English, and allowed by one of the prime prelate's chaplains? So also a book of one *Shelford*,[6] priest, whose five treatises are notorious gross Popery, with many other of the same bran,[7] which have been published by authority, and never any of them yet called in. Now if these holy men of this Synod had intended to suppress the growth of Popery, they should have caused heaps of bonfires to be made of the books in *Smithfield*; but in all things touching this point, how ridiculously and palpably they have discovered their hypocrisy, especially the President and Father of the Synod. Do Thou, O Lord, judge.

"The Fourth Canon is against Socinianism.

[5] See Appendix, Note L.

[6] "1635 came out Shelford's 'Five pious and learned Discourses,' &c. Printed by the printers to the University of Cambridge. A booke neither pious nor learned, written by one wholly savouring of the spirit of Antichrist, and ignorant of the maine scope of the Gospell, &c." Robert Shelford was of Peterhouse. The Puritans loudly complained of Dr. Beale, the Vice-Chancellor, for licensing Shelford's Discourses.—*Diary of John Rous.—Camden Society.*

[7] Or *meal.*

"Behold here, Lord, another device to set simples a wondering what this monster Socinianism should be, which most men in *England* are free enough from, unless a certain neighbour to it, which they call Arminianism, do not hale it in, as it hath done many other heresies. For, as for the Remonstrants or Arminians, they profess society and communion with the Socinians, rather than with the orthodox Protestants, whom they call Calvinists; yea, and in sundry of their heresies they border near upon them, as, maintaining justification by works, and that we are not bound to believe that we shall rise again with these our bodies glorified, and the like. So doth not the Synod mistake the name; should they not have said, against Arminianism?

"The Fifth Canon, against Sectaries.

"In this Canon they name Separatists, whom especially they mean, as endeavouring (as they say) the subversion of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of *England*. On these they lay load in good earnest indeed, and on all those that shall print or publish books especially against the discipline and government of the Church of *England*. This is indeed their fair goddess *Diana*, of which these craftsmen, who get their great incomes by her, are so jealous, and do so furiously thunder against the opposites. And surely, O Lord, if Thou dost not at this time help the poor people who cannot with a good conscience (if but rightly informed) hold communion with these men in their discipline,

under their government they must needs go to wreck, and be utterly spoiled, they and theirs.

"The Sixth Canon, an oath enjoined for the preventing of all Innovations in Doctrine and Government.

"Oh, Lord, here is the filling up of the measure of all iniquity of hypocrisy, of all cruelty and tyranny; when they have brought their plots to pass, when established and settled their innovations, both in doctrine and government. The veil of their foul hypocrisy is the pretence of sincerity and constancy in the profession of the doctrine and discipline already established; they have now already established a new doctrine and discipline in the Church of *England*, and so they are desirous to declare their sincerity and constancy in the profession of the same. O holy Lord, who is able to deal with these impious hypocrites, but Thyself alone? And now they have attained their ends in a good measure. They do this to secure all men against any suspicion of revolt to Popery, or any other superstition. For when the revolt to Popery and the superstitions thereof is now in a good measure already made, then would they have all men to be secure against any revolt to Popery. They have set up their altars, they gently entreat adoration thereunto, and that, by the same argument that Papists use to colour over such idolatry, till they have learnt in fuller terms to express themselves with a 'we will and command.' They have set up their images and crucifixes in chapels and cathedrals,

and that over the altar, for all other churches to conform thereunto; they have published books in English full of most gross Romish idolatry and superstition, they have cried down the due sanctification of the Christian Sabbath day, and have laid open the floodgates to all profaneness to break in, by public dispensation of profane sports and pastimes, that they may make the Lord's day the devil's holy day, and to make way for such profane sports. They have universally forbidden all preaching in the afternoons upon Thy holy day; they have made Thy holy commandment for the keeping and sanctifying of Thy day of none effect, and that not only by their profane practices, but professedly by their books, published by authority; they have set forth books wherein they profess that the Church of *England* and of *Rome*, the whore of *Babylon*, are one and the same church, professing the one and the same faith and religion, and go about to father the Antichristian jurisdiction and government of prelates upon the Divine institution, and upon the practice of Thy holy apostles, and do cry down the authority of Thy sacred Word as an insufficient witness to prove itself the Word of God; and so do set up man's authority above the Scriptures. They have cast out all, or most, of those godly and painful ministers of Thy Word which were as so many lights and pillars in the house of our God, because they stood in the gap, and in the way of those men, to hinder their wicked attempts in overthrowing of all true religion, and if any good minister be yet

left that have escaped their fingers, here is a hellish plot will hurl them all out at a clap; these, with many other their innovations they having now brought to pass, now, now would they have all men to be secure against any revolt to Popery. Now they declare their constancy and sincerity in the doctrine and discipline established. And the oath is this :—

"I, A. B., do swear that I do approve the doctrine and discipline, or government established in the Church of *England*, as containing all things necessary to salvation. And that I will not endeavour by myself, or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popish doctrine contrary to that which is so established. Nor will I ever give my assent to alter the government of this church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons, &c., as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpation and superstition of the see of *Rome*. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words without any equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatever. And this I do heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the faith of a Christian. So help me God in Jesus Christ. (Oh cursed oath!)[8]

[8] This was the notorious *Et Cætera* Oath, so called on account of its being, as Fuller says, "puffed up with a very windie &c." It called forth much remonstrance, and caused great dissatisfaction.

"It is against the law and light of nature that a man should swear,

"And if any shall refuse to take this oath, after the first month he shall be suspended from his ministry; after the second month, from his ministry and benefice; and after the third month deprived of all his ecclesiastical promotions whatsoever, and execution of his functions which he holds in the Church of England; and so this oath extends to all graduates in divinity, master of graduates, or licensed practitioners in law and physic; all registrars, actuaries, proctors, schoolmasters, all that enter into a ministry or into a benefice.

"Thus, O Lord, must all ministers and others forementioned forswear to the ratifying of the disannulling of the Articles of Religion, as aforesaid, to the setting up and bowing to altars, with all the other ceremonies and innovations about them, to the maintaining of an Antichristian tyranny exercised by the prelates under the name of Christ and His Apostles, and so, in sum, they must become sworn vassals to those tyrants, and

or answer (&c.) to he knows not what."—*Speech of Mr. Nathaniel Finnes, Dec.* 14, 1640.

> "I say to thee, *Et Cætera*, thou lyest,
> Thou art the curled locke of Anti-Christ;
> Rubbish of Babel, for who will not say,
> Tongues are confounded in *Et Cætera?*"

—*Dialogue between two Zealots*, 1647. Reprinted from the Sloane MS. in the *Diary of John Rous*; Camden Society, London, 1856.

"They had forged a new and strange oath for the establishing of their *Antichristian* tyrannie, with a most prodigious and monstrous *Et Cætera* in it, thereby to have deeply ensnared and grossly abused both ecclesiasticks and laymen, as they distinguish them."—Vicar's *Jehovah Jireh*; London, 1644.

sworn enemies to Thy Majesty and Kingly Sovereignty, to Thy Word and Sceptre, to their own salvation, and the salvation of Thy people, and so proclaim themselves to all the world the most base and vile slaves that ever the earth bred; yea, the most of them (such especially as know anything, and this time of light admits of no plea for ignorance in any man) must of necessity (if at all they take this oath) swear against their own consciences, and so in no small degree sin against the Holy Ghost, whereby their sin becomes unpardonable, when once their conscience is seared to impenitency, and their self-damnation sealed up to destruction.

"And further, we note out of the words of the oath, That they are to swear that they do approve the doctrine and discipline established in the Church of *England*, as containing all things necessary to salvation. Now, will they say that the discipline or government of the Church of *England* containeth anything necessary to salvation? Nay, is not the discipline and government an enemy to salvation, seeing it is altogether Antichristian, tyrannical, and a mere usurpation, and in the whole practice of it, and all the rites and ceremonies, against the word of God, and against the doctrine and practice of the Apostles, and a most notorious and pestilent persecutor of the true saints and servants of God, and a rooter out of all true religion and godliness out of the land. How can it be said to contain all things necessary to salvation, when the most principal articles of saving grace are made of none effect, and are for-

bidden to be preached to the people? And only the Holy Scripture, which is the only faith, containeth all things necessary to salvation, it being a clear commentary and exposition of itself, and a rule whereby to try all human writings of Divinity whatsoever. Thus the matter of the oath itself is most false and blasphemous, which, with all the rest, we refer to Thy judgment, O Lord.

"It is a condemning of all other Reformed Churches. They have not our discipline, and yet we have given them the right hand of fellowship, that they want nothing necessary to salvation; and, if we swear this discipline to be necessary to salvation, we must condemn them as wanting something necessary to salvation.

"We are bound to take this oath heartily and willingly, which no man that hath any consideration or conscience can do. For it is against truth, and obligeth to swear falsehood, that the government of this Church, as it now stands, ought by right so to stand; which is not true of chancellors, commissaries, officials, nor bishops.

"The Seventh Canon, a Declaration concerning some Rites and Ceremonies.

"This Canon is generally for an uniformity in will-worship throughout all *England*, and particularly in the introducing of altars in every church, with the service about it. Now this outward worship is merely of man's devising, a will-worship, and expressly forbidden and condemned by the Apostle (*Col.* i.), and, therefore, no service of God.

For our God hates all such service as Himself hath not commanded and prescribed in His word, for so He saith, 'In vain they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandment and traditions of men.' —*Matt.* xv. 9. They make an order for railing in their altar, to separate it from the rest of the church, that none do touch it, as if it were more holy, and the matter thereof more precious, than any other part of the church. And by this means, (though they pretend prevention of profanation) yet labour they to beget in the people's minds some high and reverent opinion of this their altar, as of some extraordinary holy creature, or rather, divine thing, that so they may, with the more facility and less scruple be brought to yield adoration thereunto, whenever they but look upon it or approach it, or pass by it, all do reverence and obeisance, both at their coming in, and going out of the church, chancels, or chapels."

Thus I could not but rake a little in this dunghill, that so you might see what poison here is covered over with sugar, and so to see what a woeful and dangerous condition we were all in, if God had not been merciful unto us. Oh, that we could but rightly weigh and consider what God hath done for us [in] that this cursed, damnable oath, which could not possibly be forged in any other shape than hell itself, nor by any other workman but by the devils themselves, in the likeness of men, I say that this hellish plot of Canons and oaths took no effect, but that God hath brought them to nought; it is a far

greater deliverance than '88, or gunpowder plot, for that would have but destroyed the body, but this would have destroyed souls and bodies for ever in hell.[9] And, therefore, O *England*, *England*, never forget this great deliverance!

[9] Mr. Ward, of Ipswich, had of late devised and put forth a picture of the powder treason, which he was sent up for by a pursuivant, upon Don Gondomar's complaint and suit, who says his master was dishonoured, and abused by these pictures. It is said he is in the Fleet. I had almost seen the picture and sent it to you. The pope sits in a council with a cardinal on one hand, and the devil on the other; and some layman with a feather in his cap. The Parliament house is pictured, and Fawkes therein with his lantern, very busy about his work. Over it in heaven is a great eye, (signifying Divine Providence) which darts its beams down into the cellar where Fawkes is; all is adorned with verses, and such like devices. The other is the flying of the Spanish fleet, and ours pursuing, and such like. Thus much I had from one who saw it —From Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville: *The Court and Times of James the First*, vol. ii. p. 226.

## V.

### Remarkable Judgments of God.

Thus you see how idolatry is crept in amongst us, and how ceremonies and altars are set up in our churches, which must needs provoke a jealous God to be angry with us, and to send His fearful judgment among us. I did then take notice and write some of the remarkable and fearful judgments of God on our churches, that were torn and spoiled with lightning and thunder. As if God would show unto us, by His judgments on our churches, that He is angry and displeased with them and us for our idolatry, and superstitious worshipping of Him. Now these judgments of God do call for a reformation in things amiss in the public worship and service of God, and that in time, before His wrath be kindled, and break forth as a consuming fire.

A fearful judgment of God, which was shewed on the parish church of *Widdecombe*, in *Devonshire*, being a very fair church, newly trimmed, having a very fair tower, with great and small pinnacles, one of the famousest towers in the west part of England.[1]

[1] See "A Second and Most Exact Relation of those Sad and Lamentable Accidents, which happened in and about the Parish Church of *Wydecome*, near the *Dartmoors*, in *Devonshire*, on *Sunday* the 21st of

On the 21st of *October* 1638, in service time was heard a fearful thunder, much like the noise, or report of great cannons, and a most strange and fearful darkness, and a strong, loathsome smell of brimstone, and a fearful blast that struck in at the north side of the tower, and, tearing through a strong wall, came into the church through the highest window, and took with it a great part thereof, and with a mighty power struck against the north side wall of the church, and did batter and shake it very much, and went towards the pulpit, and, in the way, took with it the lime and sand from the wall, and grated the wall, and defaced it, being newly whited, and tore away the side desk of the pulpit, and coloured the pulpit black, and left it moist, as if it had been newly wiped over with ink.

There was also a most fearful lightning, which did affright the people, and scalded them, so as the most part of them fell down, some on their knees, some on their faces, and some one upon another, crying.

The minister's wife had her ruff and linen next her body burnt off, and her body grievously scorched.

One Mistress *Ditford*, sitting in the seat with her, had her gown, two waistcoats, and her linen

*October* 1638. Printed in *London*, by *G. M.* for *R. Harford*, and are to be sold at his shop in *Queen's-head-alley*, in *Pater-noster-row*, at the *Gilt Bible*, 1638." 4to. pp. 37. This pamphlet was licensed by Thomas Wyke, Domestic Chaplain to the Bishop of London, and is reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. iii. p. 220. The minister of the church was the Rev. George Lyde.

next her skin burnt off, and her body grievously scorched.

Another woman, running out of the church, had her clothes set on fire, her body scorched, and the flesh torn on her back in grievous manner.

One Master *Hill*, a Gentleman, had his head smit against the wall, and died the next day.

Sir *Richard Reynolds'* Warrener[2] had his head cloven, his skull rent in three pieces, whereof two fell into the next seat, the other fell in the seat where he sat, his brains fell entire and whole into the next seat behind him, his blood dashed against the wall, some of the skin of his head, flesh, and hair, to the quantity of an handful, was carried into the chancel, and stuck fast upon one of the posts, between the church and the chancel; his body was left in the seat, as though he had been alive, sitting asleep, and leaning upon his elbow resting on the desk before him, with the fore-part of his head and face whole.

A man that sat next unto him in the same seat was scalded and burnt all over on that side next unto the Warrener. In the second seat behind the Warrener a man was in the most grievous manner burnt, and scalded all over his body, so as he was all over like raw flesh, and lived in great misery about a week. A dog near the chancel door was whirled up three times, and fell down dead.

Some seats in the body of the church were torn up, and turned upside down, and they that sat in

[2] *i. e.* keeper of a warren.

them had no harm, notwithstanding they were thrown out of them into other seats, four or five seats higher.

About the number of eight boys sitting about the rails of the Communion Table were taken up, and thrown on heaps within the rails, and had no hurt.

A man sitting on the church bier, at the lower end of the church, had the bier torn in pieces under him, and himself thrown into a seat by the wall, and had no hurt.

A beam broke in the middle, and fell between the minister and the clerk, and hurt neither.

The church was very much defaced, and torn; a great stone near the foundation was torn out and removed.

Stones were thrown out of the tower, as thick as if there had been a hundred men throwing them. Some of such weight and bigness as no man was able to lift. One of the pinnacles of the tower thrown down into the church, and stands entire and whole in the alley[3] of the church.

A very great stone was thrown from the tower over the east end of the church, and over the churchyard, and over a hedge into a close.

Another great stone was thrown an hundred yards from the church, which sunk into the earth so far as it could not be seen. A bowling-alley near the churchyard was turned up into pits and holes.

[3] *i. e.* aisle. The north aisle of the choir of Lincoln was formerly called the Chanters' Alley.

A wine tavern near the church had the side next the church torn up, and the covering carried off, and one of the rafters broke into the house.

The 13th day of *January* 1639, at five o'clock in the night, there was a storm of thunder and lightning, and did great hurt to many churches, and some of them here I take notice of.

The church at *Mitcham* (in the county of *Surrey*), the steeple cast on fire, and burnt down to the stones, and, as I hear, it had four bells; three of them were melted, and one of them broken to pieces, the rest of the steeple rent and cracked, and part of the church next to the steeple burnt to the stone wall. This I did go to see the next *Thursday* morning myself.[4]

*Cheam* Church, about three miles off of that, that steeple was a good part burned, but it had not so much hurt as the other had.[5]

*Stone* Church (it is called the lanthorn of *Kent*) it is near *Greenhithe*, that my neighbour did see the steeple and church all on a vehement fire together, and he did see the bells as they hung of a fiery red colour, and then they fell down into the fire, and there arose a great smother and smoke into the air,

[4] "This church received considerable damage by lightning in the year 1637 (?), at which time thirteen churches in this county are said to have experienced the same fate."—Allen's *History of Surrey and Sussex.*

[5] "It appears by a note on a pane of glass taken out of the old palace at Croydon, that 'the church of Cheme was burnt by lightning in the year 1639.' The injury it received must have been only partial; the form of the building, however, in consequence of this accident has been changed."—*Ibid.*

and so all was burnt down together, only some little part of the stone wall standing.

*Erith* Church steeple was on fire, but it had not so much hurt, for, by the mercy of God, having much help, the fire was put out. One of the bells was a little melted, and the other bells so hurt that they must now be new casted.

*Utminster* Church (about three miles off from *Raynham*); that steeple was burnt down, but the bells had not much hurt, because they were taken down at that very time. The cross that stands upon the church over the chancel fell down into the churchyard, and even brushed by the minister of that place, but did him no harm.

In *Essex*, at a place called *Rayne*, there were three great stones (it is thought that ten men could not remove them), which with the tempest were took off from the battlement of the church, and carried into the minister's yard.

*Christ Church* leads were a great part of them unripped with the storm, and rolled up together.

In *Dorsetshire* that night was seen in the air a ball of fire, which gave light that one might see to read eight miles compass, then it fell and dissolved into pieces; when that was dissolved then there was heard a noise of great ordnances in the air, and then the noise as of small guns. Sir *Walter Earle*, a knight of the Shire, doth report this.

On *Whitsunday*, 1640, in the parish of *Anthony*, in *Cornwall*, when the people were kneeling at the Communion, great claps of thunder were heard,

as though divers cannons had been shot off at once, and extraordinary and most fearful flashes of lightning, and a terrible and unspeakable strange sound, to the great amazement of the people. And when the minister was turning towards the Communion Table to give the cup after he had given the bread, he saw (to his thinking) a flaming fire about his body, and withal heard a terrible and unspeakable sound, and had no hurt, save that the outside of one of his legs was scalded. Presently after that, divers balls of fire came into the church, and struck one *Ferdinand Reefe* on the sole of his left foot with such a violence as he thought his foot had been split in pieces, and was for a while deprived of his senses.

One *John Hodge* was struck in the knees and thighs, and lower part of his body, so as he thought every part of his body to be unjoined.

One *Dorothy Tubbe* was struck, so as she thought her legs and knees were struck off from her body.

One *Anthony Peeke* was fearfully struck in all the lower parts of his body, so as it seemed as dead, . . . . and thought that he had been shot through, and was lifted up from kneeling, and set upon the form by which he kneeled.

One *Susan Collins* was struck in the lower part of her body, so as it seemed to her to be struck off from the upper part of her body, and was scalded on the wrist on her right hand.

A great fire, far redder than any lightning, came into the church, and struck one *Nicholas Skelton* on both sides of his head, as though he had been struck with two flat stones, and did shake his body as

though he would shake it in pieces, whereby he lost his sight and his senses.

Another fearful fire came, and struck one *Roger Nile* on the back bone, on the right side, and on the ancle on the inside of his left leg, so as for a while he was not able to stand.

After the fire there was heard in the church as it were the hissing of a great shot, and after that a noise, as though divers cannons had been shot off at once to make one single and terrible report. The noise did not descend from above, but was heard, and seemed to begin, close at the north side of the Communion Table.

After this fire and noise there followed a loathsome smell of gunpowder and brimstone, and a great smoke.

The church had no harm, save that seven or eight holes were made in the wall of the steeple, some on the inside, and some on the outside, and impressions on the stones in divers place, as if they were made by force of shot discharged out of a great ordnance, so as in divers places light might be seen through the walls. In this storm was nobody killed, save one dog in the belfry, and another at the feet of one kneeling to receive the cup. As soon as this fearful storm was over, they that were weak, not able to stand, through the mercy of God were restored to their strength, and they that were frantic to their senses, and he that was blind was restored to his sight, and came all to the Lord's Table, and received the wine, and went all safe home, praising God, and returned all in the afternoon, to give God thanks.

## VI.

EXAMPLES OF GOD'S JUDGMENTS ON THOSE THAT BREAK HIS HOLY SABBATH DAY.

FIRST, here be examples that I take out of other writers, of God's Judgements on Sabbath breakers:—

*Nicanor*, offering to fight against the Jews on the Sabbath day, was slain himself, and thirty-five thousand of his men.

A husbandman grinding corn upon the Lord's day had his meal burned to ashes. Another, carrying corn on this day, had his barn and all his corn therein burnt with fire from heaven the next night after.

"A husbandman that would needs go to plough on the Sabbath day; but, mark the fearful judgement of God upon him, for, as he cleansed his plough with an iron instrument, the iron stuck fast in his hand, and could not be got out, but there stuck two years, as a manifest token of God's wrath against him for that horrible sin." [1]

On the 23rd January, 1582, being the Lord's day, the scaffolds fell in *Paris Garden* [2] under the people at a bear-baiting, so that eight were suddenly slain, innumerable hurt and maimed. A warning to such

[1] Quoted from *Gregorie Turonsis*, in Beard's *Theatre of God's Judgments;* London, 1632.

[2] A place in St. Saviour's parish, containing two bear-gardens. The scaffolds were erected for the spectators of the baiting to stand upon.

who take more pleasure on the Lord's day to be in a theatre, beholding carnal sports, than to be in the church in serving of God.[3]

Here is another remarkable one, following. Many fearful examples of God's judgements by fire have in our days been showed upon divers towns where the profanation of the Lord's day hath been openly countenanced.

"*Stratford-upon-Avon* was twice, on the same day twelvemonth (being the Lord's day) almost consumed with fire, chiefly for profaning the Lord's Sabbath, and for contemning His word in the mouth of His faithful ministers."[4]

"*Tiverton*, in *Devonshire* (whose remembrance makes my heart to bleed), was oftentimes admonished by her godly preachers that God would bring some heavy judgements on the town for their horrible profanation of the Lord's day, occasioned, chiefly, by their market on the day following. Not long after his death, on the third of *April* (1598), God, in less than half an hour, consumed with a sudden and fearful fire the whole town, except only the church, the court-house, and the alms-houses, or a few poor people's dwellings, where a man might have seen four hundred dwelling houses all at once on fire, and above fifty persons consumed with the flame.[5] And now again, since the former edition of

[3] See Appendix, Note M.

[4] From *The Theatre of God's Judgments*, by Thos. Beard; London, 1632.

[5] "Occasioned by a poor woman frying her cakes with straw, which, by some accident, igniting some litter in the room, soon set the

this book on the fifth of *August* last, 1612 (fourteen years since the former fire), the whole town was again fired and consumed, except some thirty houses of poor people, with the school-house, and alms-houses. They are blind, who see not this, the finger of God. God grant them grace, when it is next built, to change their market day, and to remove all occasions of profaning the Lord's day."

The second of *March*, 1628, being the Sabbath day, a most terrible and fearful fire happened in the town of *Banbury*, which, in the space of four hours, was carried from one end of the town to the other with that fury, as continuing to burn all the night, and much of the next day, it consumed a hundred and three dwelling houses, twenty kiln-houses, and other out-houses, to the number of six hundred and sixty bays [6] and upwards, together with so much malt and other grain and commodities as amounted, at the least, to the value of twenty thousand pounds. "And thus," saith my author, "what can we collect hence but that we are punished by the restlessness

house in a blaze. Four hundred houses were on fire at one time; and thirty-three persons perished in the flames."—Harding's *History of Tiverton*. See also Dunsford's *Historical Memoirs of Tiverton*, pp. 178, 181.

[6] *Bay.*—A principal division in a building: probably, as Dr. Johnson conjectured, a great square in the framework of the roof, whence *barn of three bays* is a barn twice crossed by beams. In large buildings, having the Gothic framework to support the roof, like Westminster Hall, the *bays* are the flues between the supporters. Houses were estimated by the number of *bays*:—"If this law hold in Vienna ten years, I'll rent the fairest house in it, after three pence a *bay*."—*Measure for Measure*, ii. 1. (*Nares.*)

of this Sabbath, for our not resting a holy rest many other Sabbaths. How often hath the Lord vouchsafed us liberty and freedom to give His own day to Him, and to our own souls. And then we, out of profaneness and earthliness, take no care to sanctify it, but either loitered out the day in idleness, or wasted it in our own businesses, or in our own pastimes. Now, therefore, the Lord would not give us leave to rest, or to bestow ourselves in duties of holiness, but forced us by necessity to spend the day and night, too, in a most toilsome and most uncomfortable labour. Oh, how just it is that they which will not rest from worldly, or voluptuous labours on God's resting day, should be compelled to toil and moil like horses in such an unhappy business." [7]

In 1620 I did hear, of a truth, of fishermen that were at sea, which did not use to catch fish on the Lord's day. But on one Sabbath day, the sun shining very hot upon the water, and they, seeing a great company of salmons play there, they put forth, and caught a great company. But, mark God's judgements on them. They never caught more fish there, and the town that was near, which formerly was maintained with the said fish, was very much impoverished for the want thereof afterward.

In 1632, being the 3rd of *June*, on the Lord's day, Mr. *Cole's* man went out of church from his master, and another (that should have married his sister the week after), and he went down to the waterside,

[7] Appendix, Note N.

and went into a ship, and one said to the other, "I will get on to the top of the mast first," and so he did; then the other said, "I will be down first," and so he was, for, in making haste, he fell down, and burst in pieces, and so died, never stirring more, for his skull brake, and flew in two pieces, that the brains fell out. I had this relation from one of the parties' own mouth, and he told me that he fetched the pieces of the skull from each side of the ship, and put them together. It was Mr. *Cole's* man that told me.

This was about the time coming forth of the Book of Liberty.

I did hear that, on the first of *May*, 1633, being the Lord's day, at the town of *Henley*, there were two shoemakers fell out, and the one thrust the other through with a rapier and killed him.

And on the 19th of May, being the Lord's day, in *Finsbury* fields a child was killed with a windmill.

*The Judgements of God among us this Year*, 1634, *since the Book of Liberty for the Breach of the Lord's day came forth.*

It is creditably reported that in *Lancashire* this present month of *January*, there was an earthquake, and that the water broke out of the ground, running very muddy, as black as ink, and casting up much moss, and overflowing much ground, to the great damage and loss of the owners.

These examples of God's judgements upon Sabbath breakers I did take notice of, and because there were so many of them in so short a time as after

the Book of Liberty came forth, 1633, the like, I think, was never heard of, I would have every one well to consider of it, and, having a book come to my hand which hath some examples that I have not, I will now write them all down together in order.[8]

"On *January* the 25th, 1634, being the Lord's day, in the time of the last great frost, fourteen young men presuming to play at football upon the ice on the river *Trent*, near to *Gainsborough*, coming all together in a scuffle, the ice suddenly brake, and there were eight of them drowned."

"A miller at *Churchdown*, near *Gloucester*, would needs (contrary to the admonitions, both of his minister in private, and, generally, in public, yea, and that very day, and of other Christian friends) keep a solemn Whitsun ale,[9] for which he had made large preparation and provision, even of threescore dozen of cheesecakes, with other things proportionable, in the Church house,[10] half a mile from his mill; his musical instruments were set forth on the side of the Church house, where the minister and people were to pass to the church to evening prayer. When prayer and sermon were ended, the drum is struck up, the pieces discharged, the musicians play, and the route[11] fall a-dancing, till the evening, when they all, with the miller, resort to his mill, where, the

[8] The paragraphs in inverted commas are taken from Prynne's *Divine Tragedie lately acted*; 1636. They are also given in Burton's *Divine Tragedy*.

[9] Appendix, Note O.

[10] Appendix, Note P.

[11] Route, a company.—Wright's *Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English*; London, 1857.

evening before, they had supped; about 9 o'clock on *Whitsunday* a fire took suddenly in his house over their heads, and was so brief and quick that it burnt down his house and mill, and devoured withal the greater part of his provision and household stuff. This is confirmed by sundry good testimonies."

"One good man, *Paul*, near *Stoke* in *Dorsetshire*, rejoicing much at the erection of a summer pole at a parish called *Simondsbury*[12] in *Dorsetshire*, and saying, before one of his neighbours, he would go see it, though he went naked through a quick-set hedge, which is a common proverb they use, going with wood in his arms to cast into the bonfire, where he lived, and, using these words, 'Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory, O Lord,' he was presently smitten by the stroke of God, and within two or three days died, and his wife with him. These two last examples are testified by a minister in his letter to a brother minister."

"The last spring a miller hard by *Wootton*, in *Worcestershire*,[13] went on the Lord's day to a wake, whence returning home again the same day, at night found his mill and house all on a fire; this was testified by a minister (in a reply to another minister) who was an eye-witness."

"At *Woolston*, in the same county, where the said minister's father had been minister forty years, and, by God's blessing upon his labours, had reformed things very well, yet, upon the publication of this Book in print, many of the inhabitants, the

[12] Simsbury. [13] *Query*, Gloucestershire?

spring following, were emboldened to set up May-poles, Morris dance,[14] and a Whitsun ale, continuing their rude revelling a week together, with many affronts to their ancient and reverent pastor. But it pleased God that, not long after, a spark from a smith's shop caught in that room where the ale was brewed, and, though means were ready at hand, yet it could not be quenched, but set the house on fire, and presently flew to the barn in which their disorder was, and burnt the same, with thirteen dwelling-houses more, most of whose inhabitants were actors or abettors in the same. This is testified by many."

I did hear of a good minister that, after he had read the Book of Liberty, a deboist[15] fellow standing by, said he was glad of it. At this, and some other words that he spake, the minister was much troubled in his mind that he had read it.

The last of *August*, being the Sabbath day, Mr. *Weaver's* man, dwelling at *Horsleydown*, near *London*, went forth to play at football, and he was brought home with his leg broken to pieces. I am acquainted with the master of this man.

"*Richard Jones*, son of Widow *Jones*, not far from *Dorchester*, being severely admonished by his mother, when she understood that he had a purpose on *Saturday* night, to go on the Lord's day with other companions to *Stoke* to play at a sport called

[14] Appendix, Note Q.

[15] Deboist, *i. e.* debauched. See note to *The Tempest*, act iii. scene 2, Collier's edition, London, 1858.

fives,[16] but persisting in his resolution, and going the next day accordingly, being the Lord's day, at *Stoke*, where he played at the said sport; at night, returning home with his companions, *Burgess*, *Hill*, and *John Edwards*, after they had well drunk, they fall first a-jostling one another in the way, then to boxing, and, in the end, *Edwards* stabbing *Jones* under the left side, he died thereof the *Monday* night following, about seven of the clock. Behold here a terrible example of disobedience to God's holy commandments, not only the fourth, but the fifth also."

"At *Twyford*, in *Buckinghamshire*, a fellow playing at cudgels[17] on the Lord's day, received a hurt in the face, whereof he died the next week."

"At *Glastonbury* in *Somersetshire*, at the setting up of a Maypole, it, miscarrying, fell upon a child, and slew it, and it is reported that it was the churchwarden's child, who was the chief stickler in the business. Also, when the Maypole in the same town was again the second time a-setting up, a fire took in the town, so as all the people about the Maypole were forced to leave it, and to run to the quenching of the fire."

[16] *Fives* was one old hand-tennis, and a very ancient game.—Hone's *Everyday Book*.

[17] "Near the dying of the day
There will be a *cudgel-play*
Where a coxcomb will be broke,
Ere a good word can be spoke."—Witt's *Recreations*, 1654.

"I found a ring of *cudgel-players*, who were breaking one another's heads in order to make some impression on their mistresses' hearts."—*Spectator*, vol. ii. pp. 417, 418; London, 1712.

"A May-Lord of Misrule,[18] not far from thence, became mad upon it."

"In *Yorkshire*, at a wake, in the parish of *Otley*, at *Baildon*, on the Lord's day, two of them sitting at drink late in the night, fell out, and, being parted, the one a little after finding his fellow sitting by the fire with his back towards him, came behind him, and, with a hatchet, chines him down the back . . . the murderer flying immediately, and being hotly pursued, leapt into a river, and so drowned himself. Oh fearful fruits of carnal liberty!"

"Upon Mayday last, being the Lord's day, a maid of the minister of the parish of *Cripplegate*, *London*, was married to a widower having three children, the youngest being at nurse in the country. Upon this day they kept their feast in the church house joining to the church, where they spent all the afternoon in dancing; but, within one week after, the plague began in that parish in the new married man's house, where, within a month, it took away the man and his wife, and his two children that were in the house. And thus was the plague brought first into that parish this year."

In *Sussex*, at a town called *Ausson*, the Book of Liberty being read in those parts (although not by the minister of that town), yet it caused a company to come thither to ringing of the bells upon the Lord's day; but Mr. *Tyro* the minister, and Churchwardens, persuading of them to cease, could not prevail by any fair means; then they made them

[18] Appendix, Note R.

upon force to leave off, and did thrust them forth a-doors. One of those ringers (being more malicious than the rest) complained of the minister to the Judge of the Court, who willed him to get his company together, and to fall a-ringing again the next Lord's day, and, if they were interrupted as before, to bring him word, and he would take course with them, and have them up to the High Commission Court. The ringleader, being full of joy, went to give notice of this to his company; but, when he thought to have been pulling at the bells, he was laid in his grave before the next Sabbath came.

"In *March*, betwixt 1634 and 1635, at *Billericay* in *Essex*, one *Theophilus Pease*, the minister's son of that town, went to ring the bells on the Sabbath day, whom the Churchwardens for that time hindered. But against the next Sabbath, he gathered a company together, saying he would ring in spite of the Churchwardens. While he was a-ringing, he was taken with a giddiness like one drunk, and so sickened, and about three days after died." [19]

In *London*, about *June*, one *William Smith*, who wrought in my house, when he went from me, I gave him a charge to be careful to keep the Lord's day holy, showing unto him what judgments did befall those that break the Sabbath day; but when he was away he minded not those instructions, but

[19] The following entry has been found in the burial register of the parish of Great Burstead, by the Rev. R. C. Webb, the present vicar of Billericay:—"Theophilus Pease, the sonne of William Pease, Clerke, Vicker, buried 21st day of March (1634-5)." Great Burstead was, until very recently, the mother parish of Billericay.

through the encouragements of some others he went on the Sabbath day to wrestling in the fields, and he holding the other up in his arms a long time, and after striving together, the other fell upon him, and so bruised his stomach that within a short time after he died of it.

## VII.

EXAMPLES OF GOD'S FEARFUL JUDGMENTS AGAINST THE WICKED ENEMIES OF HIS CHURCH.

Now to come to another monstrous, gross, abominable, heinous, and provoking sin, which is, the cruel and barbarous usage of the dear children of the most high God, and surely were not devils come amongst us in the likeness of men, they would never have shewed that devilish usage of the dear servants of the most great God as they have done, for the devil was a murderer from the beginning.

As it hath been always, so it is now; for who set themselves more against the true prophets than the false prophets? As to instance but in one, who did set themselves most against the prophet *Jeremiah?* was it not the priests and false prophets? As it was then, so it has continued to this day. For, do not our lordly bishops and prelates, with many other learned men, not only themselves, but cause and move others to, hate the dear children of God, showing it by their mocking, taunting, reproaching with scoffs and jeers, and calling them by the names of Puritans, schismatical, seditious, factious, trouble-states, traitors that speak against *Cæsar*, with many slanders; taking away all their livings, casting them into prison, whipping of them, perpetual imprisonment, laying great fines on

them, and banishment into remote places, separating those that God had joined together, as the husband from the wife, parents from their children. And as they did with Dr. *Leighton*[1] (whom I know well) so did they with Master *Burton*, Doctor *Bastwick*, and Mr. *Prynne*; set them in the pillory, cut off their ears, to the shedding of much blood that, so as the blood of *Abel* cried for vengeance, so the blood of Master *Udall*,[2] Master *Hildersham*,[3] Master *Bates*, with divers other men's blood together, do all cry for vengeance, vengeance on this land. And surely, if this sin be not washed from this land by repentance, what can we look for, but some fearful, sweeping judgment to come amongst us? But to speak

[1] "The title of Dr. Leighton's book is 'Sion's Plea against the Prelacy.' He refuseth to answer the high-commissioners as being parties, and so incompetent judges, but appealeth to the lords of the council. His famed passage about his Majesty's marriage (as I hear by those who have read the book) is that, 'missing an Egyptian,' meaning the Infanta, 'he had light upon a daughter of Heth,' meaning her Majesty: not, as some relate, missing a Jew, had married a Turk; though it be little better, for it implies a Canaanite. Since his committing, his wife hath also been committed to the same prison for her disordered tongue; and a button-maker, for putting his mouth to the key-hole of the prison door where he lay, and crying aloud, 'Stand to it, doctor, and shrink not,' and such like words."—Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville: *Court and Times of Charles I.*

[2] "Master Udal, a godly preacher in Queen Elizabeth's days, was charged with this expression, 'If it come in (that is, the true government of Christ, as he means), by that means which will make your hearts ache, blame yourselves;' for these words especially was he then condemned to be hanged; such was the rage and potency of the prelates in those days."—*Burroughs on Hosea.* The Articles exhibited against Ephraim Udall are given in *Mercurius Aulicus*, the 19th week.—*King's Pamphlets*, sm. 4to. vol. cviii. *gold number.*

[3] Appendix, Note S.

of those men that I did know well; Doctor *Leighton*, Mr. *Burton*, Doctor *Bastwick*, and Master *Prynne*; what had these men done, that they must suffer so much misery to the shedding of their blood, with perpetual imprisonment? All was but for preaching and writing of the truth of the word of God, in which there was a terror to the prelates, false prophets, idolaters, and profaners of the Lord's day. And now, of late, in the year 1637, when these three men suffered, Master *Burton*, Doctor *Bastwicke*, and Master *Prynne*, when any book came forth which was for God, and against those wicked prelates, they laid them to their charge. And them that any of those books were found with, they were had up unto their unlawful courts, great and heavy things laid to their charges, much trouble with imprisonment, and much expenses and fines, to the undoing of some (I, the writer, speak by some woeful experience[4]) and all for having some books that taught us how we should fear God, and honour our king, and not to meddle with them that change.

In the month of November 1633, *John Tailor*, of the parish of *Postingford*, in the county of *Suffolk*, accused Master *Abbot*, minister of the same town, before the High Commission, and yet would not be known that he did it. Master *Abbot*, hearing of it, meeting him by the way, told him of it; but this *John Tailor* denied it, and wished that he might never get home if he did so. And, as he was entering upon his own ground, he fell off his

[4] See Introduction, page xxxviii.

horse dead, never speaking more, and he lay there almost a month as a just hand of God, for others to take notice or warning of.

Towards the latter end of *May* 1634, at *Radley* near *Leigh* in *Essex*, the minister and some good men were at strife with carnal men about drunkenness and some other sins which they lived in, and there was a man that held on both sides. He told the minister what the other men said, and then told the other what the minister said, so that there was much strife betwixt them, yet the Lord Chief Justice gave the minister the better of the cause. After this, the man's conscience did so trouble him, that he was so ill with it that he took his bed, and sent for the minister, and told him that he had treacherously dealt with him in betraying him to the other men. Then the minister spake some comfort to him, but he could take none, for, after the minister was gone, he arose out of his bed, and cut his own throat, and yet lay three days in a raving manner, and then died.

In the month of [*February*] 1635 [1633], one Master *William Noy*, the great *Gamaliel* of the Law, his Majesty's late Attorney-General, as he had a great hand in compiling and publishing the (late) Declaration for pastimes on the Lord's day (thrust out by his and a great prelate's practice) so he eagerly prosecuted Master *Prynne*, a well-deserving gentleman of his own profession and society (to whom he was formerly a friend in appearance, but an inveterate enemy in truth), for his *Histrio-*

*mastix*,[5] compiled only out of the words and sentences of other approved authors of all sorts against the use and exercise of stage plays, interludes, Morris-dances, May-games, May-poles, wakes, lascivious mixed dancing, and other Ethnic[6] pastimes, condemned in all ages, without any thought or suspicion of giving the least offence, either to the King's most excellent Majesty, the Queen, or State, as he averred in his answer upon oath. And, although this book was written four years, licensed almost three, printed fully of a quarter of a year, and published six weeks before the Queen's Majesty's pastoral, against which it was falsely voiced to have been principally written, diligently perused and licensed by Master *Thomas Buckner*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury* his chaplain, both before and after it came from the press, entered in the Stationers' Hall under the warden's hands, printed publicly in three authorized printing houses, without the least control, and published by the licenser's direction, who would have nothing new printed in it, as appeared upon oath at the hearing, and, although Master *Noy* himself (to whom he presented one of the books) upon the first reading of it commended it, thanked him for it, oft affirmed that he saw no hurt in it, and, at the hearing confessed that the worst and most dangerous phrase and passage in it might have a good and fair construction, and scholars would, also, take it in a good

[5] *Histriomastix; the Players Scourge, or the Actor's Tragedy*; in two parts. See Appendix, Note T.

[6] Heathenish.

sense, yet he handled the matter so (by suppressing the gentleman's exhibits and defence, wresting his words and meaning, refusing to discover the particulars of the book on which he would insist, though ordered so to do by the court, it being else impossible to instruct counsel how to make a reply, and by tampering under hand with some of his counsel by no means to make any justification or defence to clear his innocency, though the party earnestly entreated, and gave them instructions to the contrary) that the poor gentleman at last received the heaviest censure that this latter age hath known, all circumstances considered, being expelled the University of *Oxford* and *Lincoln's Inn*, thrust from his profession, in which he never offended, fined five thousand pounds to the King, ordered to stand on two several pillories, and there to lose both his ears, his books to be there burnt before him, and to suffer imprisonment during life, besides.

This sentence, thought by most that heard the cause, to be meant only *in terrorem*, without any intention at all of execution, being respited for above three months' space, and, in a manner, remitted by the Queen's most gracious mediation, was yet by this attorney's, and a great prelate's, importunity, beyond all expectation, few of the lords so much as knowing of it, the gentleman hereupon is set on the pillory at *Westminster*, and there lost an ear; Master *Noy*, a joyful spectator, laughs at his sufferings, and this his great exploit he had brought to pass, which divers there present observed

and condemned in him. The gentleman, like a harmless lamb, took all with such patience that he not so much as once opened his mouth to let fall one word of discontent; yet that just God and Sovereign Lord of heaven and earth, who beholded mischief and spite to requite with his own hand, and avengeth the innocent blood of his servants, took this his mirth and malice so heinously, that the same day (as some about him and of his own society reported) he who thus shed his brother's and companion's blood, by the just hand of God, at last grew ill with this divine stroke. . . . He, much vexed in mind, instead of repenting of what he had done, and seeking to right the party wronged for his irreparable damage, like a hart or beast once mortally wounded, proceeds on his former fury, seeks to bring the poor distressed gentleman into fresh troubles and a further censure, brings him *ore tenus* into the Star Chamber, reviles him with all manner of uncivil words, moves to have him close prisoner among the rogues in *Newgate*, sells his chamber as forfeited to the House by his expulsion, seizeth his books, and when as the Court would not grant his unreasonable, malicious motion, above five weeks after in the long vacation, when most of the lords were gone, and his Majesty in his progress, draws up an order of his own making in Star Chamber for the gentleman's close imprisonment (the last order he ever made), caused the registrar to enter it, and sends it to the Tower to be executed, the same day he went to *Tunbridge* waters, with-

out the Lord's, or Court's, privity. The day following, drinking of those waters he was in a miserable torture, insomuch that, most despairing of his life, and some reported he was dead. . . . . It so fretted and gnawed his heart and conscience, that it made his very heart to perish, and, in about a fortnight after, brought him to his end.

His funeral, according to his desire, was so private that there were hardly gentlemen enough to carry him to his grave, but some that came in by accident. His clients, the players, for whom he had done knight's service, to requite his kindness the next Term following made him the subject of a merry comedy styled "A Projector Lately Dead," wherein they bring him in his lawyer's robes upon the stage, and openly dissecting him, find a hundred proclamations in his head, and bundle of old moth-eaten records in his maw.[7] And, as if this public disgrace upon the stage were not sufficient to expiate the wronged gentleman's blood and infamy, himself in his last will lays a brand on his own son and heir, bequeathing all his goods and lands, not therein given to others, to *Edward* his eldest son, to be scattered and spent, enough to make a dutiful child unthrift, and a sign of despairing man; which son of his, upon his own challenge and rashness, hath since been slain in a duel in *France* by Captain *Byron*, who escaped scot free, and had his pardon.

Thus hath God punished blood with blood, thus hath He dealt with one of the chief occasioners of

[7] See Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, part ii. vol. i. p. 213.

this declaration, and burner of that book, which learnedly manifested the unlawfulness of the several sorts and pastimes countenanced in it, especially on the Lord's own sacred day, out of old and new writers of all sorts, and specified divers judgements of God upon the authors, actors, and spectators of them, not unworthy consideration in these times of plagues and judgements.

O consider this, and all other the foregoing examples, ye impious prelates, that so far forget the Lord as still to silence, excommunicate, and persecute godly ministers for not reading this Declaration (though there be no canon, statute, law or precept extant that requires it) to the ruin, not so much of them, as their poor, innocent people's souls; ye that in these doleful days of plague and pestilence suppress and neglect all public fasting, preaching, praying, which now, if ever, should be cried up and practised, and instead thereof, give yourselves over to dancing, feasting, playing, Sabbath-breaking, to draw down more wrath and plagues upon us; you, who oppress and maliciously persecute godly men for crossing you in your delights of sin, lest you now perish, as these have done, and so much the rather, because you have all these precedents to admonish you.

One of the actors whereof, and he who first shewed Mr. *Prynne's* book to the King, within a few months came to be his fellow-prisoner in the Tower for a real commentary on his misapplied text.

The judge who, upon his reference, suppressed

these exhibits, contrary to law and promise to the gentleman, was himself not long after unexpectedly thrust out of his place, before he knew of it.

The great lord that began this censure lost his lady in childbed some three days after, who much grieved at this sentence, and blamed him for it; which lord, riding the last Christmas-tide into the country to keep his Christmas on the Lord's day, his coach and honor in the plain street at *Brentford* were both overturned and laid in the dirt, himself sore bruised, and thereupon forced to keep his chamber a good space, there being some doubt of his recovery for a time.—*Psal.* x. 14.

In the year 1638, one Master *Olden*, dwelling in the parish of *Rickmansworth*, in *Hertfordshire*, he meeting one Master *Anderson*, a godly minister, he salutes him in a scoffing manner, and desires him to go and see his brother (which was a minister, and would be glad to see him) and tells him withal he must observe these things: first, he must lay aside his preciseness, for his brother was no Puritan; secondly, he must lay aside his unconformity, for his brother is a conformable man; thirdly, he must lay aside the Scriptures, for his brother was for the Fathers. This Mr. *Olden* was a most bitter enemy to all God's children, for he did say when he did come to be churchwarden, he would make the Puritans to come up the middle alley on their knees unto the rails; then, afterward, when he came to be churchwarden, he caused the rails to be set up, and then the people were forced

to come up to the rails. Some refusing, were persecuted; one *George Eve*, going out of the parish because of the superstitious things, he, informing against him at the Court, put him to much trouble, and he said he would inform Dr. *Lamb* of him and others, and that he would in a few days have a crucifix in the chancel. At the time of the speaking of some of these words, he and another (as I am told) went to drink, and having drunk sixteen quarts of wine, and thus going to *London*, before he could come into the Court against them that he had threatened, he died suddenly in a most fearful manner, being very much swelled, like one that had been poisoned, that the doctors and surgeons could not tell what was the cause.

In the year 1637 those three worthy servants of God, Doctor *Bastwick*, Mr. *Burton*, and Mr. *Prynne*, suffered persecution as on the 14th of *June* in the Star Chamber, having most heavy censure, and afterwards executed upon them, being set on the pillory, and their ears cut off close to their head, to the shedding of much of their blood, and then banished and sent out of the land from their wives and children to three several places, as namely, the castles of *Carnarvon*, *Cornwall*, and *Lancaster*.

In *May* 1639 there was a going to war against the Scots, and at *Newcastle* there was a common soldier that said he would not return till this hand (of his) had plucked out the heart's blood of a Scot, and presently his arm was struck lame, and he was in such grievous pain all night that the next day

he went to a surgeon, and the surgeon asked him how his arm came so. And he said he knew not, except God was angry with him for saying he would not return till this hand had plucked out the heart's blood of a Scot, and so God did strike him lame.

Thus you have seen many heavy judgements of God upon those that hate and persecute the children of God, and many more you may see if you read in the Book of Martyrs, and in other books of many men of great reckoning, and worthy by their worldly proceedings. But, having fallen to butchering, and bathing their hands, or rather, their hearts, in the blood of God's saints and servants, have not only lost their former deserved praises and worldly reputation, but, after their cruelty against Christians, died most fearfully.

# VIII.

CERTAIN SPECIAL AND MOST MATERIAL PASSAGES AND SPEECHES IN THE STAR CHAMBER.

*A Brief Relation of certain Special and Most Material Passages and Speeches in the Star Chamber, occasioned and delivered in June the* 14*th*, 1637, *at the Censure of those three worthy Gentlemen, Doctor* BASTWICK, *Master* BURTON, *and Master* PRYNNE, *as it hath been truly and faithfully gathered from their own mouths by one present at the said Censure.*[1]

BETWEEN eight and nine o'clock in the morning (the 14th of *June*) the Lords being set in their places in the said Court of Star Chamber, and casting their eyes upon the prisoners then at the bar, Sir *John Finch* (Chief Justice of the Common Pleas) began to speak after this manner—"I had thought Mr. *Prynne* had no ears, but methinks he hath ears," which caused many of the Lords to make stricter view of him, and, for their better satisfaction, the usher of the Court was commanded to turn up his hair and shew his ears, upon the sight whereof the Lords were displeased they had been formerly no more cut off, and cast out some disgraceful words of him.

[1] This is the copy of a 4to. pamphlet, pp. 28, bearing the same title, printed in the year 1638, and reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. iv. p. 12.

To which Mr. *Prynne* replied, "My Lords, there is never a one of your Honours but would be sorry to have your ears as mine are."

The Lord Keeper replied again, "In good faith he is somewhat saucy."

"I hope," said Mr. *Prynne*, "your Honours will not be offended; I pray God give you ears to hear."

"The business of the day," said the Lord Keeper, "is to proceed on the prisoners at the bar."

Mr. *Prynne* then humbly desired the Court to give him leave to make a motion or two; which, being granted, he moves,

First, that their Honours would be pleased to accept of a cross Bill against the Prelates, signed with their own hands, being that which stands with the justice of the Court which he humbly craved, and so tendered it.

*Lord Keeper.*—As for your cross Bill, it is not the business of the day. Hereafter if the Court shall see it just cause, and that it savours not of libelling, we may accept of it: for my part I have not seen it, but have heard somewhat of it.

*Prynne.*—I hope your Honours will not refuse it, seeing it is on his Majesty's behalf; we are his Majesty's subjects, and therefore require the justice of the Court.

*Lord Keeper.*—But this is not the business of the day.

*Prynne.*—Why then, my Lords, I have a second motion, which I humbly pray your Honours to grant, which is, that your Lordships will be pleased

to dismiss the prelates here now sitting, from having any voice in the censure of this cause, being generally known to be adversaries, as being no ways agreeable to equity or reason, that they who are our adversaries should be our judges. Therefore we humbly crave they may be expunged out of the Court.

*Lord Keeper.*—In good faith it's a sweet motion, is it not? Herein you are become libellous, and if you should thus libel all the Lords and Reverent Judges, as you do the most Reverent Prelates by this your Plea, you would have none to pass sentence upon you for your libelling, because they are parties.

*Prynne.*—Under correction, my Lord, this doth not hold; your Honour need not put for a certainty, which is uncertainty; we have nothing to say to any of your Honours, but only to the Prelates.

*Lord Keeper.*—"Well, proceed to the business of the day, read the information;"—which was read; being very large, and these Five Books annexed thereunto, a book of Doctor *Bastwick's* written in Latin;[2] the second, a little book entitled 'News from *Ipswich*;' the third entitled 'A Divine Tragedy, recording God's fearful judgements on Sabbath-breakers;' the fourth, Mr. *Burton's* book entitled 'An Apology of an Appeal to the King's most Excellent Majesty, with two Sermons for God and the King, preached on the first of *November* last;' the fifth and last, Dr. *Bastwick's* 'Litany.'

[2] 'Apologeticus ad præsules Anglicanos criminum ecclesiasticorum in curia celsæ Commissionis Quæsitores, authore Johanne Bastwick, M.D.'

The King's Counsel (being five) took each of them a several book, and descanted there at the Bar upon them according to their pleasure. Master Attorney began first with Doctor *Bastwick's* Latin Books, picking out here and there particular conclusions that best served for his own ends (as did the other Counsel out of the four other books) to the great abuse of the Authors, as themselves there immediately complained, entreating them to read the foregoing grounds upon which the said conclusions depended, without which they could not understand the true meaning of them.

Next unto the Attorney, Serjeant *Whitfield* falls upon Reverend Mr. *Burton's* books, who vented much bitterness against that unreproveable book (as all that read it with an honest heart may clearly perceive) swearing, "In good faith, my Lords, there is never a page in this book but deserves a heavier and a deeper censure than this Court can lay upon him."

Next followed *A. B.*, who in like manner descanted upon the 'News from *Ipswich*,' charging it to be full of pernicious lies, and especially vindicating the honour of *Matthew Wren*, Bishop of *Norwich*, as being a learned, pious, and Reverend Father of the Church.[3]

In the fourth place follows Mr. *Littleton*, the King's Solicitor, who acts his part upon the 'Divine Tragedy.' To which part of it "Concerning God's Judgements on Sabbath Breakers" he had little to say, but only put it off with a scoff, saying that they sat

[3] See Appendix, Note U.

in the seat of God, who judged those accidents which fell out upon persons, suddenly stricken, to be the judgement of God for Sabbath-breaking, or words to the like effect; but enlarged himself upon that passage which reflected upon that late learned Professor of his law, and his Majesty's faithful servant, Mr. *William Noy*, his Majesty's late Attorney, who, as he said, was most shamefully abused by a slander laid upon him, which was, that it should be reported that God's judgement fell upon him for so eagerly persecuting that innocent person, Mr. *Prynne*. . . .

"But the truth of this, my Lord, you shall find to be as probable as the rest, for we have here three or four gentlemen to come in to testify upon oath that he had that long before;" and thereupon made a shew as if he would call for them in before the Lords to witness the truth hereof (with these words, "Make room for the gentlemen to come in there"), but no one witness was seen to appear, which was a pretty delusion, and worth all your observations that read it. And so concluded (as the rest) that this book also deserved a heavy and deep censure.

Lastly follows Mr. *Habert*, whose descant was upon Dr. *Bastwick's* 'Litany,' picking out one or two passages therein, and so drawing thence his conclusion, that, jointly with the rest, it deserved a heavy censure.

The King's Counsel having all spoken what they could, the Lord Keeper said to the prisoners at the Bar:—"You hear, gentlemen, wherewith you are charged, and now, lest you should say you cannot

have liberty to speak for yourselves, the Court gives you leave to speak what you can, with these conditions, First, that you speak within the bounds of modesty; secondly, that your speeches be not libellous."

They all three (prisoners) answered, they hoped so to order their speech as to be free from any immodest or libellous speaking.

*Lord Keeper*.—Then speak, in God's name, and shew cause why the Court should not proceed in censure (as taking the cause *pro confesso*) against you.

*Prynne*.—My honourable good Lord, such a day of the month there came a subpœna from your Honours to enter my appearance in this Court, which, being entered, I took forth a copy of the information which, being taken, I was to draw my Answer, which I endeavoured to do, but being shut up close prisoner, I was deserted of all means by which I should have done it, for I was no sooner served with the subpœna, but I was shortly after shut up close prisoner, with a suspension of pen, ink, and paper, which close imprisonment did eat up such a deal of my time that I was hindered the bringing in of my Answer; you did assign me Counsel, it is true, but they neglected to come to me, and I could not come to them, being under lock and key. Then upon motion in Court ye gave me liberty to go to them, but then presently after that motion (I know not for what cause nor upon whose command) I was shut up again; and then I could not compel my Counsel to come to me, and my time

was short, and I had neither pen, nor ink, nor servant to do anything for me, for my servant was then also kept close prisoner, under a pursuivant's hands; this was to put impossibilities upon me. Then upon a second motion for pen and ink (which was granted me) I drew up some instructions, and in a fortnight's time sent forty sheets to my Counsel. Suddenly after I drew up forty sheets more, and sent to them. My Lord, I did nothing but by the advice of my Counsel, by whom I was ruled in the drawing up of all my Answers, and paid him twice for drawing it, and some of my Counsel would have set their hands to it. Here is my Answer, I tender it upon my oath, which your Lordships cannot deny with the justice of the Court.

*Lord Keeper.*—We can give you a precedent that this Court hath proceeded and taken a cause *pro confesso* for not putting in an Answer in six days. You have had a great deal of favour shewed in affording you longer time, and therefore the Court is free from all calumny or aspersion for rejecting your Answer not signed with the Counsel's hands.

*Prynne.*—But one word or two, my Lords, I desire your Honours to hear me; I put a case in law that is often pleaded before your Lordships, one man is bound to bring in two witnesses, if both or one of them fail, that he cannot bring them in, doth the law, my Lords, make it the man's act? You assigned me two counsellors; one of them failed; I cannot compel him, here he is now

before you; let him speak if I have not used all my endeavours to have had him sign it (which my other Counsel would not have done, if this would have set his hand to it with him) and to have put it in long since.

*Counsel.*—My Lord, there was so long time spent ere I could do anything after I was assigned his Counsel, that it was impossible his Answer could be drawn up in so short a time as was allotted, for, after long expectation, seeing he came not to me, I went to him, where I found him close prisoner, so that I could not have access to him, whereupon I motioned to the Lieutenant of the Tower to have free liberty of speech with him concerning his Answer, which being granted me. I found him very willing and desirous to have it drawn up; whereupon I did move the Court for pen and ink and paper, which was granted me, the which he no sooner had gotten but he set himself to draw up instructions, and in a short time sent me forty sheets, and soon after I received forty sheets more, but I found the Answer so long, and of such a nature, that I durst not set my hand to it for fear of giving your Honours distaste.

*Mr. Prynne.*—My Lord, I did nothing but according to the direction of my Counsel, only I speak mine own words, my Answer was drawn up by his consent, it was his own act, and he did approve of it, and if he will be so base a coward to do that in private which he dares not acknowledge in public, I will not let such a sin lie on my con-

science; let it rest with him. Here is my Answer, which though it be not signed with their hands, yet here I tender it upon my oath, which you cannot in justice deny.

*Lord Keeper.*—But, Mr. *Prynne*, the Court desires no such long Answer; are you guilty or not guilty?

*Prynne.*—My good Lord, I am to answer in a defensive way. Is here any one that can witness against me? Let him come in. The law of God standeth thus, That a man is not to be condemned but under the mouth of two or three witnesses. Here is no witness comes in against me, my Lord, neither is there in all the Information one clause that doth particularly fall on me, but only in the general; there is no book laid to my charge, and shall I be condemned for a particular act, when no accusation of any particular act can be brought against me? This were most unjust and wicked. Here I tender my Answer to the Information upon my oath. My Lord, you did impose impossibilities upon me, I could do no more than I was able.

*Lord Keeper.*—Well, hold your peace, your Answer comes too late. Speak you, Dr. *Bastwick.*

*Bastwick.*—My Honourable Lords, methinks you look like an assembly of gods, and sit in the place of God; ye are called the sons of God. And since I have compared you to gods, give me leave a little to parallel the one with the other, to see whether the comparison between God and you doth hold in this noble and righteous cause. This was the

carriage of Almighty God in the cause of *Sodom*, before He would pronounce sentence, or execute judgement, He would first come down and see whether the crime was altogether according to the cry that was come up; and with whom doth the Lord consult, when He came down? with His servant *Abraham*, and He gives the reason, for I know (saith He) that *Abraham* will command his children and household after him, that they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgement. My good Lords, thus stands the case between your Honours and us this day. There is a great cry come up into your ears against us from the King's Attorney. Why now, be you pleased to descend and see if the crime be according to the cry, and consult with God (not the Prelates, being the adversary part, and, as it is apparent to all the world, do proudly set themselves against the ways of God, and from whom none can expect justice and judgment) but with righteous men that will be impartial on either side, before you proceed to censure, which censure you cannot pass on us without great injustice before you hear our Answers read. Here is my Answer, which I tender upon my oath. My good Lords, give us leave to speak in our own defence; we are not conscious to ourselves of anything we have done that deserves a censure this day in this Honourable Court, but that we have ever laboured to maintain the honour, dignity, and prerogative Royal of our Sovereign Lord the King; let the Lord the King live for ever! Had I a thousand lives, I should think them all too

little to spend for the maintenance of his Majesty's Royal prerogative. My good Lords, can you proceed to censure before you know my cause? I dare undertake, that scarce any one of your Lordships have read my books; and can you then censure me for what you know not, and before I have made my defence? O my noble Lords, is this righteous judgement? This were against the law of God and man to condemn a man before you know his crime. The governor before whom St. *Paul* was carried (who was a very heathen) would first hear his cause before he would pass any censure upon him; and doth it beseem so noble and Christian assembly to condemn me before my Answer be perused, and my cause known? Men, brethren, and fathers, into what age are we fallen? I desire your Honours to lay aside your censure for this day, and enquire into my cause; hear my Answer read, which if you refuse to do, I here profess, I will clothe it in Roman Buff,[4] and send it abroad unto the view of all the world, to clear my innocency, and see your great injustice in this cause.

*Lord Keeper.*—But this is not the business of the day; why brought you not in your Answer in due time?

*Dr. Bastwick.*—My Lord, a long time since I tendered it to your Honours; I failed not in any one particular, and if my Counsel be so base and cowardly that they dare not sign for fear of the prelates (as I can make it appear), therefore have I

[4] *i. e. Latin.—Biog. Brit.*, Kippis' edition.

no Answer. My Lord, here is my Answer, which, though my Counsel, out of a base spirit, dare not set their hands unto, yet I tender it upon my oath.

*Lord Keeper.*—But, Mr. Doctor, you should have been brief, you tendered in too large an Answer, which (as I heard) is as libellous as your books.

*Bastwick.*—No, my Lord, it is not libellous, though large; I have none to answer for me but myself, and, being left to myself, I must plead my conscience in answer to every circumstance in the Information.

*Lord Keeper.*—What say you, Mr. Doctor, are you guilty, or not guilty? Answer aye or no; you needed not to have troubled yourself so much about so large an Answer.

*Bastwick.*—I know none of your Honours have read my book, and can you, with the justice of the Court, condemn me before you know what is written in my book?

*Lord Keeper.*—What say you to that was read to you even now?

*Bastwick.*—My Lord, he that read it did so murder the sense of it, that, had I not known what I had written, I could not tell what to have made of it.

*Lord Keeper.*—What say you to the other sentence read to you?

*Bastwick.*—That was none of mine. I will not father that which was none of my own.

*Lord Dorset.*—Did you not send that book, as it now is, to a nobleman's house, with a letter directed to him?

*Bastwick.*—Yea, my Lord, but withal you may see in my epistle set before the book, I did at first disclaim what was not mine. I sent my book over by a Dutch merchant; who it was that wrote the addition I do not know, but my epistle set to my book made manifest what was mine, and what was not, and I cannot justly suffer for what was none of mine.

*Lord Arundel.*—My Lord, you hear by his own speech the cause is taken *pro confesso*.

*Lord Keeper.*—Yea, you say true, my Lord.

*Bastwick.*—My noble Lord of *Arundel*, I know you are a noble prince in *Israel*, and a great peer of this Realm. There are some Honourable Lords in this Court that have been forced out as combatants in a single duel; it is between the Prelates and us at this time, as between two that have appointed the field. The one, being a coward, goes to the Magistrate, and by virtue of his authority disarms the other of his weapons, and gives him a bulrush, and then challenges him to fight. If this be not base cowardice, I know not what belongs to a soldier. This is the case between the Prelates and us, they take away our weapons (our Answers) by virtue of your authority, by which we should defend ourselves, and yet they bid us fight. My Lord, doth not this savour of a base, cowardly spirit? I know, my Lord, there is a decree gone forth (for my sentence was passed long since) to cut off our ears.

*Lord Keeper.*—Who shall know our censure, before the Court pass it? Do you prophesy of yourselves?

*Bastwick*.—My Lord, I am able to prove it, and that from the mouth of the Prelates' own servants, that in *August* last it was decreed that Dr. *Bastwick* should lose his ears. O my noble Lords, is this righteous judgement? I may say as the Apostle once said, "What, whip a *Roman?*" I have been a soldier, able to lead an army into the field, to fight valiantly for the honour of their prince. Now I am a physician, able to cure nobles, kings, princes, and emperors; and to curtalize a Roman's ears, like a cur, oh, my honourable Lords, is it not too base an act for so noble an assembly, and for so righteous and honourable a cause? The cause, my Lords, is great; it concerns the glory of God, the honour of our King, whose prerogative we labour to maintain and to set up in a high manner, in which your Honours' liberties are engaged. And doth not such a cause deserve your Lordships' consideration before you proceed to censure? Your Honours may be pleased to consider that in the last cause heard and censured in this Court, between Sir *James Bagge* and the Lord *Moon*, wherein your Lordships took a great deal of pains, with a great deal of patience, to hear the Bills on both sides, with all the Answers and depositions largely laid open before you, which cause, when you had fully heard, some of your Honours now sitting in the Court said, you could not in conscience proceed to censure, till you had taken some time to recollect yourselves. If in a cause of that nature you could spend so much time, and afterwards recollect yourselves before you would

pass censure, how much more should it move your Honours to take some time in a cause wherein the glory of God, the prerogative of his Majesty, your Honours' dignity, and the subjects' liberty is so largely engaged. My Lords, it may fall out to be any of your Lordships' cases to be delinquents at this Bar, as we now do. It is not unknown to your Honours the cause that is to succeed ours is touching a person that sometimes hath been in greatest power in this Court. Now if the mutations and revolutions of persons and times be such, then I do most humbly beseech your Honours to look on us, as it may befal yourselves. But if all this will not prevail with your Honours, to peruse my books and hear my Answer read, which here I tender upon the words and oath of a soldier, a gentleman, a scholar, and a physician, I will clothe them (as I said before) in Roman Buff, and disperse them throughout the Christian world, that the future generations may see the innocency of this cause, and your Honours' unjust proceedings in it, all which I will do, though it cost me my life.

*Lord Keeper.*—Mr. Doctor, I thought you would be angry.

*Bastwick.*—No, my Lord, you are mistaken, I am not angry nor passionate; all that I do press is, that you would be pleased to peruse my Answer.

*Lord Keeper.*—Well, hold your peace. Mr. *Burton*, what say you?

*Mr. Burton.*—My good Lords, your Honours (it should seem) do determine to censure us, and take

our cause *pro confesso*, although we have laboured to give your Honours satisfaction in all things. My Lords, what have you to say against my book? I confess I did write it, yet did I not anything out of intent of commotion or sedition. I delivered nothing but what my text led me to, being chosen to suit with the day, namely, the 5th of *November*, the words were these, &c. &c.

*Lord Keeper.*—Mr. *Burton*, I pray, stand not naming texts of Scripture now; we do not send for you to preach, but to answer to those things that were objected against you.

*Burton.*—My Lord, I have drawn up my Answer to my great pains and charges, which Answer was signed with my Counsel's hands, and received into the Court, according to the rule and order thereof, and I did not think to have been called this day to a censure, but have had a legal proceeding by way of Bill and Answer.

*Lord Keeper.*—Your Answer was impertinent.

*Mr. Burton.*—My Answer (after it was entered into the Court) was referred to the Judges, but by what means I do not know, whether it be impertinent, and what cause your Lordships had to cast it out, I know not. But after it was approved of, and received, it was cast out as an impertinent Answer.

*Lord Finch.*—The Judges did you a good turn to make it impertinent, for it was as libellous as your book, so that your Answer deserved a censure alone.

*Lord Keeper.*—What say you, Mr. *Burton*, are you guilty, or not?

*Mr. Burton.*—My Lord, I desire you not only to peruse my book here and there, but every passage of it.

*Lord Keeper.*—Mr. *Burton*, time is short; are you guilty, or not guilty; what say you to that which was now read? Doth it become a minister to deliver himself in such a railing and scandalous way?

*Mr. Burton.*—In my judgement, and as I can prove it, it was neither railing nor scandalous. I conceive that a minister hath a larger liberty than always to go in a mild strain. I being the pastor of my people whom I had in charge, and was to instruct, I supposed it was my duty to inform them of those Innovations that are crept into the Church, as likewise of the danger and ill-consequence of them. As for my Answer, ye blotted out what you would, and then the rest, which made best for your own ends, you would have to stand. And now for me to tender only what will serve for your own turns, and renounce the rest, were to desert my cause, which, before I will do, or desert my conscience, I will rather desert my body, and deliver it up to your Lordships to do with it what you will.

*Lord Keeper.*—This is a place where you should crave mercy and favour, Mr. *Burton*, and not stand upon such terms as you do.

*Mr. Burton.*—Then wherein I have offended through human frailty I crave of God and man pardon; and I pray God that in your sentence you

may so censure us, that you may not sin against the Lord.

Then the prisoners, desiring to speak a little more for themselves, were commanded to silence. And so the Lords proceeded to censure:

The Lord *Cottington's* censure: "I condemn these three men to lose their ears in the Palace Yard at *Westminster*, to be fined five thousand pounds a man to his Majesty, and to perpetual imprisonment in three remote places in the kingdom, namely, the castles of *Carnarvon*, *Cornwall*,[5] and *Lancaster*."

The Lord *Finch* added to this censure: "Master *Prynne* to be stigmatized in the cheeks with two letters (S and L) for a Seditious Libeller."

To which all the Lords agreed, and so the Lord Keeper concluded the censure.

*The Execution of the Lords' Censure in Star Chamber upon Dr.* Bastwick, *Mr.* Prynne, *and Mr.* Burton *in the Palace Yard at Westminster.*

The 30th day of *June* last, 1637, at the spectation whereof the number of people was so great (the place being very large) that it caused admiration in all that beheld them, who came with tender affections to behold those three renowned soldiers and servants of Jesus Christ, who came with most undaunted and magnanimous courage thereunto, having their way strawed with sweet herbs from the house out of which they came, to the Pillory, with all the honour that could be done unto them.

[5] Lostwithiel Castle.

Dr. *Bastwick* and Mr. *Burton* first meeting, they did close one in the other's arms three times, with as much expressions of love as might be, rejoicing that they met at such a place, upon such an occasion, and that God had so highly honoured them, as to call them forth to suffer for His glorious truth. Then immediately after came Mr. *Prynne*, the Doctor and he saluting each other, as Mr. *Burton* and he did before. The Doctor then went up first on the scaffold, and his wife, immediately following, came up to him, and, like a loving spouse, saluted each ear with a kiss, and then his mouth; whose tender love, boldness, and cheerfulness so wrought upon the people's affections that they gave a marvellous great shout with joy to behold it. Her husband desired her not to be in the least manner dismayed at his sufferings, and so for a while they parted, she using these words, "Farewell, my dearest, be of good comfort, I am nothing dismayed," and then the Doctor began to speak these words:—

"There are many that are this day spectators of our standing here as delinquents; though not delinquents, we bless God for it. I am not conscious to myself wherein I have committed the least trespass (to take this outward shame) either against my God or my King. And I do the rather speak it, that you that are now beholders, may take notice how far innocency will preserve you in such a day as this is, for we come here in the strength of our God, Who hath mightily supported us, and filled our hearts with greater joy and comfort than our shame or

contempt can be. The first occasion of my trouble was by the Prelates, for writing a book against the Pope; and the Pope of *Canterbury* said I wrote against him, and therefore questioned me. But if the presses were as open to us as they formerly have been, we would shatter his kingdom about his ears. But be ye not deterred by their power, neither be affrighted at our sufferings. Let none determine to turn from the ways of the Lord, but go on; fight courageously against *Gog* and *Magog*. I know there are many here who have set many days apart for our behalf (let the Prelates take notice of it) and they have sent up strong prayers to heaven for us. We feel the strength and benefit of your prayers all along this cause. In a word, so free I am from base fear, or caring for anything they can do, or cast upon me, that, had I as much blood as would swell the *Thames*, I would shed it every drop in this cause. Therefore be not any of you discouraged, be not daunted at their power; ever labouring to preserve innocency, and keep peace within, go on in the strength of your God, and He will never fail you in such a day as this. As I said before, so I say again, had I as many lives as I have hairs on my head, or drops of blood in my veins, I would give them up all for this cause. This plot of sending us to those remote places was first consulted and agitated by the Jesuits, as I can make it plainly appear. Oh see what times we are fallen into, that the Lords must sit to act the Jesuits' plots! For our own parts,

we owe no malice to the persons of any of the prelates, but would lay our necks under their feet to do them good, as they are men; but against the usurpation of their power, as they are bishops, we do profess ourselves enemies till Doomsday."

Mr. *Prynne*, shaking the Doctor by the hand, desired him that he might speak a word or two. "With all my heart," said the Doctor.

"The cause" (said Mr. *Prynne*) "of my standing here, is for not bringing in my Answer, for which my cause is taken *pro confesso* against me. What endeavours I used for the bringing in thereof, that God, and my own conscience, and my Counsel knows, whose cowardice stands upon record to all ages; for, rather than I will have my cause a leading cause to deprive the subjects of that liberty which I seek to maintain, I expose my person to a leading example to bear this punishment. And I beseech you all to take notice of their proceedings in this cause. When I was served with a sub-pœna into this Court, I was shut up close prisoner, that I could have no access to Counsel, nor admitted pen, ink, or paper to draw up my Answer by my instructions, for which I feed them twice, though to no purpose; yet when all was done, my Answer would not be accepted into the Court, though I tendered it upon my oath. I appeal to all the world if this be a legal or just proceeding. Our accusation is in point of libel (but supposedly) against the prelates. To clear this now I will give you a little light what the law is

in point of libel (of which profession I have sometimes been, and still profess myself to have some knowledge in). You shall find in the case of libel two statutes, the one in the second of Queen *Mary*, the one in the seventh of Queen *Elizabeth*. That in the second of Queen *Mary* the extremity and height of it runs thus: That if a libeller doth go so far and so high as to libel against King or Queen by denomination, the height and extremity of the law is, that they lay no greater fine on him than a hundred pounds, with a month's imprisonment, and no corporal punishment, except he do refuse to pay his fine, and then to inflict some punishment in lieu of that fine at the month's end. Neither was this censure to be passed on him except it were fully proved by two witnesses, who were to produce a certificate of their good demeanour for the credit of their report, or else confessed by the libeller. You shall find in that statute 7 *Elizabeth* some further addition to the former of 2 *Mary*, and that only in point of fine and punishment, and it must still reach as high as the person of the King and Queen. Here this statute doth set a fine of two hundred pounds, the other, but one, so that therein only they differ. But in this they both agree, namely, at the end of his imprisonment to pay his fine, and so to go free without any further questioning; but if he refuse to pay his fine, then the Court is to inflict some punishment on him, correspondent to his fine. Now see the disparity between those times of theirs and ours; a libeller in Queen *Mary's* days was fined

but an hundred pounds, in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, two hundred. In Queen *Mary's* days but a month's imprisonment, in Queen *Elizabeth's*, three months, and so great a fine, if they libelled against King or Queen. Formerly the greatest fine was but two hundred pounds, though against King or Queen. Now, five thousand pounds, but against the prelates, and that but supposedly, which cannot be proved. Formerly, but three months' imprisonment, now, perpetual imprisonment. Then, upon paying the fine, no corporal punishment was to be inflicted; but now, infamous punishment with the loss of blood, and all other circumstances that may aggravate it. See now what times we are fallen into, when that libelling (if it were so) against prelates only shall fall higher than if it touched kings or princes.

"That which I have to speak of next, is this. The prelates find themselves exceedingly aggrieved and vexed against what we have written concerning the usurpation of their calling, where indeed we declare their calling not to be *Jure Divino*. I make no doubt but there are some intelligencers or abettors within the hearing, whom I would have well to know and take notice of what I now say. I here in this place make this offer to them, That if I may be admitted a fair dispute, on fair terms, for my cause that I will maintain, and do here make the challenge against all the Prelates in the King's dominions, and against all the Prelates in Christendom (let them take in the Pope, and all to help

them) that their calling is not *Jure Divino.* I will speak it again, I make the challenge against all the Prelates in the King's dominions and all *Christendom*, to maintain that their calling is not *Jure Divino.* If I make it not good, let me be hanged up at the Hall Gate;" whereupon the people gave a great shout. "The next thing I have to speak of is this: the Prelates find themselves exceedingly aggrieved and vexed against what I have written in point of law concerning their writs and process. That the sending forth of writs and process in their own name is against all law and justice, and doth entrench on his Majesty's prerogative Royal, and the subject's liberties. And here now I make a second challenge against all the lawyers in the Kingdom in the way of fair dispute. That I will maintain the prelates sending forth of writs and process in their own names, to be against all law and justice, and entrencheth on his Majesty's prerogative Royal and the subject's liberty. Lest it should be forgotten, I speak it again, I here challenge all the whole society of the law upon a fair dispute to maintain, That the sending forth of writs and process in the prelates' own names to be against law and justice, and entrencheth on the King's prerogative Royal, and the subject's liberty. If I be not able to make it good, let me be put to the tormentingest death they can devise.

"We praise the Lord, we fear none but God and the King; had we respected our liberties, we had not stood here at this time; it was for the general

good and liberties of you all that we have now thus far engaged our own liberties in this cause; for did you know how deeply they have entrenched on your liberties in point of popery, if you knew but into what times you were cast, it would make you look about you. And if you did but see what changes and revolutions of persons, causes, and actions have been made by one man, you would more narrowly look into your privileges, and see how far your liberty did lawfully extend, and so maintain it.

"This is the second time that I have been brought to this place; who hath been the author of it, I think you all well know. For the first time, if I could have had leave given me, I could easily have cleared myself of that which was then laid to my charge, as also I could have done now if I might have been permitted to speak. That book, for which I suffered formerly, especially for some particular words therein written, which I quoted out of God's Word, and ancient Fathers, for which, notwithstanding, they passed censure on me, that same book was twice licensed by public authority, and the same words I then suffered for, they are again made use of and applied in the same sense by *Heylin* in his book, lately printed, and dedicated to the King, and no exception taken against them, but are very well taken."

"Aye," said Dr. *Bastwick*, "and there is another book of his licensed, wherein he rails against us there at his pleasure, and against all the martyrs that suffered in Queen *Mary's* days, calling them

schismatic heretics; and there is another book of *Pocklington's* licensed, they be as full of lies as dogs be full of fleas.[6] But were the presses as open to us, as they are to them, we would pay them and their great Master that upholds them, and charge them with notorious blasphemy."

Said Master *Prynne*, "You all at this present see there be no degrees of men exempted: Here is a Reverend Divine for the soul, a physician for the body, and a lawyer for the Estate. I had thought they would have let alone their own Society, and not have meddled with any of them. And the next (for ought I know) may be a Bishop; you see they spare none, of what Society or calling soever; none are exempted who cross their own ends. Gentlemen, look to yourselves; if all the Martyrs that suffered in Queen *Mary's* days are accounted and called Schismatical Heretics and Factious Fellows, what shall we look for? Yet so they are called in a book lately called forth under authority; and such Factious Fellows are we, for discovering a plot of popery. Alas! poor *England*, what will become of thee if thou look not the sooner into thine own privileges, and maintainest not thine own lawful liberty? Christian people, I beseech you all, stand firm, and be zealous for the cause of God and His true Religion, to the shedding of your dearest blood, otherwise you will bring yourselves and all your posterities into perpetual bondage and slavery."

Now, the Executioner being come to sear him

[6] Appendix, Note T.

and cut off his ears, Mr. *Prynne* spake these words to him, "Come, friend, come, burn me, cut me, I fear it not; I have learned to fear the fire of Hell, and not what man can do unto me; come, sear me, sear me, I shall bear in my body the marks of the LORD JESUS," which the bloody executioner performed with extraordinary cruelty, heating his iron twice to burn one cheek, and cut off one of his ears so close that he cut off a piece of his cheek. At which exquisite torture he never moved with his body, or so much as changed his countenance, even to the astonishment of all the beholders, and uttering (as soon as the executioner had done) this heavenly sentence, "The more I am beaten down, the more I am lift up." And, returning from the execution in a boat, made, as I hear, these two verses by the way on the two characters branded on his cheeks:

"S. L. Laud's Scars.

Triumphant I return, my face descries
Laud's searching Scars, God's grateful sacrifice."

*Mr.* BURTON'S *Heavenly and Most Comfortable Speech, which he made at the time of his Suffering, both before and while he stood at the Pillory, which was set something distant from the other Double Pillory, wherein Dr.* BASTWICK *and Mr.* PRYNNE *stood.*

The night before his sufferings about eight o'clock, when he first had certain notice thereof, upon occasion of his wife's going to ask the warden whether her husband should suffer the next day,

immediately he felt his spirit to be raised to a far higher pitch of resolution and courage to undergo his sufferings, that he might not flag nor faint, lest any dishonour might come to his Majesty or the cause. And the Lord heard him, for all the next day in his suffering (both before and after) his spirits were carried aloft as it were upon eagle's wings (as himself said) far above all apprehension of shame or pain. The next morning (being the day of his sufferings) he was brought to *Westminster*, and with much cheerfulness being brought into the Palace Yard unto a chamber that looked into the yard, where he viewed three pillories there set up. "Methinks" (said he) "I see Mount *Calvary* where the crosses (one for Christ, and the other for the two thieves) were pitched. And, if Christ were numbered among thieves, shall a Christian, for Christ's cause, think much to be numbered among rogues, such as we are condemned to be. Surely if I be a rogue, I am Christ's rogue, and no man's." And a little after, looking out at the casement towards the pillory, he said, "I see no difference between looking out at this square window and yonder round hole," (pointing towards the pillory) he said, "It is no matter of difference to an honest man;" and a little after that, looking somewhat wishfully towards his wife to see how she did take it, she seemed to him to be something sad, to whom he thus spoke, "Wife, why art thou so sad?" To whom she made answer, "Sweet heart, I am not sad." "No," said he, "see thou be not,

for I would not have thee to dishonour the day by shedding one tear, or fetching one sigh, for behold there for thy comfort my triumphant chariot on which I must ride for the honour of my Lord and Master, and never was my wedding day so welcome and joyful a day as this day is, and so much the more because I have such a noble Captain and Leader who hath gone before me with such undauntedness of spirit that He said of Himself, 'I gave my back to the smiters, my cheeks to the nippers, I hid not my face from shame and spitting,' for the Lord God will help me, therefore shall I not be confounded, therefore have set my face like a flint, and I know I shall not be ashamed." At length, being carried away towards the pillory, he met Dr. *Bastwick* at the foot of the pillory, where they lovingly saluted and embraced each other, and, parting a little from him, he returned and most affectionately embraced him the second time, being heartily sorry he missed Mr. *Prynne*, who was not yet come, before he was gone up to his pillory, which stood alone next the Star Chamber, and about half a stone's cast from the other double pillory wherein the other stood. So, as all their faces looked southward, the bright sun all the while for the space of two hours shining upon them. Being ready to be put into the pillory, standing upon the scaffold, he spied Mr. *Prynne*, new come to the pillory, and Dr. *Bastwick* in the pillory, who then hasted off his band and called for a handkerchief, saying, "What, shall I be last; or shall I be ashamed of a pillory for

Christ, who was not ashamed of a cross for me?" When being put into the pillory he said, "Good people, I am brought hither to be a spectacle to the world, to angels, and men, and, howsoever I stand here to undergo the punishment of a rogue, yet except to be a faithful servant to Christ, and a loyal subject to the King, be the property of a rogue, I glory in it, and bless my God. My conscience is clear, and is not stained with the guilt of any such crime as I have been charged with, though, otherwise, I confess myself to be a man subject to many frailties and human infirmities. Indeed, that book entitled 'An Apology of an Appeal,' with sundry Epistles, and two Sermons for God and the King, charged against me in the information, I have and do acknowledge (the misprinting excepted) to be mine, and will by God's grace never disclaim it whilst I have breath within me." After a while he having a nosegay in his hand, a bee came and pitched on the nosegay, and begun to suck the flowers very savourly; which he beholding and well observing, said, "Do ye not see this poor bee, she hath found out this very place to suck sweetness from these flowers; and cannot I suck sweetness in this very place from Christ?" the bee sucking all this while, and so took her flight. By and by he took occasion from the shining of the sun to say, "You see how the sun shines upon us, but that shines as well upon the evil as the good, upon the just and the unjust, but the Sun of Righteousness (Jesus Christ, who hath healing in His

wings) shines upon the souls and consciences of every true believer only, and no cloud can hide Him from us, to make Him ashamed of us, no, not of our most shameful sufferings for His sake. And why should we be ashamed to suffer for His sake, who hath suffered for us? All our sufferings be but flea-bitings to that He endured; He endured the cross, and despised the shame, and is set on the right hand of God. He is a most excellent pattern for us to look upon, that, treading His steps, and suffering with Him, we may be glorified with Him. And what can we suffer wherein He hath not gone before us, even in the same kind? Was not He degraded when they scornfully put on Him a purple Robe, a Reed into His hand, a thorny Crown upon His head, saluting Him with 'Hail, King of the Jews!' and so disrobed Him again? Was He not deprived, when they smote the Shepherd, and the sheep were scattered? Was not violence offered to His sacred person, when He was buffeted and scourged, His hands and His feet pierced, His head pricked with thorns, His side gored with a spear? And was not the cross more shameful, yea, and more painful, than a pillory? Was not He stripped of all He had, when He was left stark naked upon the cross, the soldiers dividing His garments, and casting lots upon His vesture? And was He not confined to perpetual close imprisonment, in man's imagination, when His body was laid in a tomb, and the tomb sealed, lest He should break prison, or His disciples steal Him away? And yet did He not rise again,

and thereby brought deliverance and victory to us all? so as we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us. Here then we have an excellent pattern indeed." And all this he uttered (and whatsoever else he spake) with marvellous alacrity.

One said unto Mr. *Burton*, "Christ will not be ashamed of you on the last day." He replied he knew whom he had believed, and that Christ was able to keep that He had committed to him against that day. One asked him how he did; he said, "Never better, I bless God, who hath accounted me thus worthy to suffer." The keeper, keeping off the people from pressing near the pillory, he said, "Let them come, and spare not, that they may learn to suffer." This same keeper, being weary, and sitting him down, asked Mr. *Burton* if he were well, and bade him be of good comfort, to whom he replied, "Are you well? If you be well, I am much more, and full of comfort, I bless God." Some asked him if the pillory were not uneasy for his neck and shoulders, he answered, "How can Christ's yoke be uneasy? This is Christ's yoke, and He bears the heavier end of it, and I the lighter, and if mine were too heavy, He would bear that, too. O good people, Christ is a good and sweet Master, and worthy the suffering for, and if the world did but know His goodness, and had tasted of His sweetness, all would come and be His servants, and did they but know what a blessed thing it is to bear the yoke, oh, who would not bear it?" The keeper going about to ease the pillory by putting a stone

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or a brick between, Mr. *Burton* said, "Trouble not yourself, I am at very good ease, and feel no weariness at all." And espying a young man at the foot of the pillory, and perceiving him to look pale on him, he said, "Son, son, what is the matter, you look so pale? I have as much comfort as my heart can hold; and if I had need of more, I should have it." One asked him a while after if he would drink some *Aqua vitæ*, to whom he replied that he needed it not, "for I have," said he (laying his hand upon his breast) "the true water of life, which, like a well, doth spring up into eternal life." Pausing a while he said, with a most cheerful and grave countenance, "I was never in such a pulpit before, but little do ye know" (speaking to them that stood about him) "what fruit God is able to produce from this dry tree." They, looking steadfastly upon him, he said, "Mark my words, and remember them well, I say, little do you know what fruit God is able to produce from this dry tree. I say, remember it well, for this day will never be forgotten, and through these holes" (pointing to the pillory) "God can bring light to His Church." The keeper going about again to mend the pillory, he said, "Do not trouble yourself so much, but, indeed, we are the troublers of the world." By and bye after, some of them offering him a cup of wine, he thanked them, telling them he had the wine of consolation within him, and the joys of Christ in possession which the world could not take away from him, neither could it give them unto him.

Then he looked towards the other pillory, and, making a sign with his hand, cheerfully called to Dr. *Bastwick* and Mr. *Prynne*, asking them how they did, who answered, "Very well." A woman said unto him, "Sir, every Christian is not worthy this honour, which the Lord hath cast upon you this day." "Alas," said he, "who is worthy of the least mercy? But it is His gracious favour and free gift, to account us worthy in the behalf of Christ to suffer anything for His sake." Another woman said, "There are many hundreds which, by God's assistance, would willingly suffer for the cause you suffer for this day." To whom he said, "Christ exalts all of us who are ready to suffer afflictions for His Name with meekness and patience, but Christ's military discipline in the use of His spiritual warfare in point of suffering is quite forgotten, and we have, in a manner, lost the power of religion, in not denying ourselves, and following Christ as well in suffering, as in doing." After a while, Mr. *Burton*, calling to one of his friends for a handkerchief, returned it again, saying, "It is hot, but Christ bore the burden in the heat of the day. Let us always labour to approve ourselves to God in all things and unto Christ, for therein stands our happiness, come of it what will in this world." A Christian friend said to Mr. *Burton*, "The Lord strengthen you," to whom he replied, "I thank you, and bless His Name, He doth strengthen me. For, though I am a poor, sinful wretch, yet I bless God for my innocent conscience

in any such crime as is laid against me, and were not my cause good, and my conscience sound, I could not enjoy so much unspeakable comfort in this my suffering as I do, I bless my God." Mistress *Burton* sends commendation to him by a friend; he returned the like to her, saying, "Commend my love to my wife, and tell her I am heartily cheerful, and bid her remember what I said to her in the morning, namely, that she should not blemish the glory of this day with one tear, or so much as one sigh." She returned answer, that she was glad to hear him so cheerful, and that she was more cheerful of this day than of her wedding-day. This answer exceedingly rejoiced his heart, who thereupon blessed God for her, and said of her, "She is but a young soldier of Christ's, but she hath already endured many a sharp brunt, but the Lord will strengthen her unto the end." And he, having a pair of new gloves, shewed them to his friends there about him, saying, "My wife yesterday, of her own accord, brought me these wedding gloves, for this is my wedding-day." Many friends spake comfortably to Mr. *Burton,* and he again spake as comfortably to them, saying, "I bless my God that called me forth to suffer this day." One said to him, "Sir, by this sermon, (your suffering) God may convert many unto him." He answered, "God is able to do it indeed." And then he called again to Dr. *Bastwick* and Mr. *Prynne,* asking them how they did, who answered as before. Some speaking to him concerning that suffering of shedding his

blood, he answered, "What is my blood to Christ's blood? Christ's blood is a purging blood, but mine is corrupted and polluted with sin." One friend, asking another standing near Mr. *Burton* if there should be anything more done unto him, Mr. *Burton*, overhearing him, answered, "Why should there not be more done? for what God will have done, must be accomplished." One desiring Mr. *Burton* to be of good cheer, to whom he replied, "If you knew my cheer, you would be glad to be partaker with me, for I am not alone, neither hath God left me alone in all my sufferings and close imprisonment, since first I was apprehended." The halbert-men standing round about, one of them had an old rusty halbert, the iron whereof was tacked to the staff with an old crooked nail, which, one observing, and saying, "What an old rusty halbert is that!" Mr. *Burton* said, "This seems to me to be one of those halberts which accompanied Judas when he went to betray and apprehend his Master." The people, observing Mr. *Burton's* cheerfulness and courage in suffering, rejoiced, and blessed God for the same. Mr. *Burton* said again, "I am persuaded that Christ, my Advocate, is now pleading my cause at the Father's right hand, and will judge my cause, though none be found here to plead it; and will bring forth my righteousness as the light at noonday, and clear my innocency in due time." A friend asking Mr. *Burton* if he would have been without this particular suffering, to whom he said, "No, not for a

world." Moreover he said that his conscience, in the discharge of his ministerial duty and function, in admonishing his people to beware of the creeping in of Popery and superstition, exhorting them to stick close unto God and the King in duties of obedience, was that which first occasioned his sufferings, and said, "As for this truth I have preached, I am ready to seal it with my blood, for this is my crown both here and hereafter. I am jealous of God's honour, and the Lord keep us that we may do nothing that may dishonour Him . . . either in doing or suffering; God can bring light out of darkness, and glory out of shame. And what shall I say more? I am like a bottle which is so full of liquor that it cannot run out freely; so I am so full of joy, that I am not able to express it."

In conclusion, some told him of the approach of the Executioner, and prayed God to strengthen him; he said, "I trust He will; why should I fear to follow my Master Christ, who said, 'I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to the nippers, that plucked off my hair, I hid not my face from shame and spitting, for the Lord God will help me, therefore shall I not be confounded, therefore have I set my face like a flint, and I know I shall not be ashamed.'"

When the Executioner had cut off one ear, which he had cut deep and close to the head in an extraordinary cruel manner, yet this champion of Christ never once moved or stirred for it, though he had cut the vein, so as the blood ran streaming

down upon the scaffold, which, persons standing about the pillory seeing, dipped their handkerchiefs in, as a thing most precious, the people giving a mournful shout, and crying for the surgeon, whom the crowd and other impediments for a time kept back, so that he could not come to stop the blood; this patient all the while held up his hands and said, "Be content, it is well, blessed be God." The other ear being cut no less deep, he was then freed from the pillory, and came down where, the surgeon waiting for him, presently applied remedy for stopping the blood, after a large effusion thereof; yet, for all this, he fainted not in the least manner though, through expense of much blood, he waxed pale. And one offering him a little wormwood water, he said, "It needs not," yet, through importunity, he only tasted of it, and no more, saying his Master Christ was not so well used, for they gave Him gall and vinegar, "but you give me strong water to refresh me, blessed be God." His head being bound up, two friends led him away to a house provided for him in King Street where, being set down, and bid to speak little, yet he said, after a pause, "This is too hot to hold long." Now, lest they in the room, or his wife, should mistake, and think he spake of himself concerning his pain, he said, "I spake not this of myself, for that which I have suffered is nothing to that my Saviour suffered for me, who had His hands and feet nailed to the Cross." And, lying still awhile, he took Mr. *Prynne's* sufferings much to heart, and asked the

people how he did, "for" (said he) "his sufferings have been great." He asked also how Dr. *Bastwick* did, with much compassion and grief, that he (being the first that was executed) could not stay to see how they two fared after him. His wife being brought to him, behaved herself very graciously towards him, saying, "Welcome, sweet heart, welcome home!" He was often heard to repeat these words, "The Lord keep us that we do not dishonour him in anything." Amen.

# IX.

Of the Bitterness of War—The Siege of Rochelle—Of the Power and Force of Prayer.

But before I proceed any further, I will shew you a little of the bitterness of war, and the miseries that it brings with it (in regard of famine) that so our hearts may the more be stirred up to praise this our God, that hath kept and delivered us from it; and first see some of it out of the Word of God.

2 Kings vi. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29.

Isaiah xxi. 2, 3, 4; xxii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10.

Jeremiah vi. 8; xxx. 6, 7; lii. 1st verse to the 30th.

Lamentations i. 11, 19; ii. 11, 12, 20, 21; iiii. 4, 5, 9, 10; v. 10, 11, 12.[1]

In November 1628, there came a letter to my father from my cousin *John Bradshaw*, of the news of the troubles and sorrows of the Rochellers. A copy of some part of that letter here followeth.

Also it is reported that through this famine in *Rochelle*, young maids of fourteen or sixteen years old, did look like old women of an hundred years old. All the English that came out of *Rochelle* looked like Anatomies. They lived two months with nothing but cowhides and goats' skins boiled, the dogs, cats, mice, and frogs, being all spent. And

[1] These references are given at length in the original.

this, with a world of miseries besides, did they suffer in hope of release. There died in the siege of famine, sixteen thousand persons, the rest enduring much misery, most of their food being hides, leather, and old gloves. Other provisions which were very scarce, and at an excessive rate, [were]

A bushel of wheat at a hundred and twenty pound.
A pound of bread at twenty shillings.
A quarter of mutton at five pound.
A pound of butter at thirty shillings.
An egg at eight shillings.
An ounce of sugar at two shillings sixpence.
A dried fish at twenty shillings.
A pint of wine at twenty shillings.
A pound of grapes at twenty shillings.
A pint of milk at thirty shillings.

In the year 1638 I had a book come to my hand of the miserable estate of *Germany*, wherein as in a glass you might see the mournful face of this our sister nation, now dumb with misery, and who knows how fast the cup may pass round? God's arrows are all fleet. The curse of God goeth over the face of the whole earth, *Zac.* v. 3. If the sins of *Sodom* be found in *Samaria*, and the sins of *Samaria* in *Jerusalem*, they shall all pledge each other, for God is no respecter of persons.

Are there no idolaters and Sabbath breakers and drunkards, but in *Germany?* Or doth God hate sin in them alone? What are we that God should always spare us, not to insist any further on this? But now a little to look upon the cruelties which the soldiers have exercised upon the persons of the inhabitants (of *Germany*) without respect of age, sex, dignity, calling, &c.; and we shall rather think

them monsters than mankind. Nor *Turks,* nor infidels, have so behaved themselves.

Princely personages have they wound and tied about the head with strong cords, and twisted the same till the blood came out of their eyes, ears and noses, yea till their eyes started out of their heads.

They have with bodkins pierced, yea, with knives raced and cut the skin and flesh of many.

Some have they put into hot ovens and so smothered or burned them. Some they roasted with straw fires. Some they have strangled.

Many have they trussed up on high, hanging on their feet stones and weights to stretch out their bodies.

With *jezels*, or like instruments, they have gone about to plane the faces of some, cutting off their noses and ears. For burning, pulling down, and ruining of churches, cities, villages, the like hath not been heard. Above eight thousand villages consumed with fire. Oh how many thousand churches are destroyed at this time! Our priests are forced to fly into other countries, and many hundreds of them have miserably perished with their wives and children. Many of our public schools of learning, and many famous colleges of students, are utterly consumed; what worthy libraries (and, as I have been told, some epistles which St. *Paul* wrote with his own hands) have perished by fire.

A widow woman had a daughter of nine or ten years old. This child with hunger was grown so

faint, that upon a time with sorrowful eyes she steadfastly looked upon her mother, and said, "Sweet mother, I would willingly die, so I were rid of my pain. Oh would you make an end of me, then should I go from whence I came; or if I did kill you, you would be rid of your pain." The mother looking upon her, again sighing, said, "And what wouldest thou do with me?" The child answered very sadly, "I then would eat you." The mother fell a-weeping, and broken with her own thoughts, desperate necessity, and her motherly affections, catched at her head, untied her hair lace, twisted it about the neck of this innocent lamb, and so strangleth her; when it was dead, she having no knife nor hatchet to cut it in pieces, took a spade, and hewed it into gobbets, and so dressing part of the body, devoured it.

Thus you have some taste of the bitterness of war; therefore now for a conclusion of all that hath been spoken that may serve as a strong motive to stir us all up with speed to turn unto God, that He may turn unto us, and from us this fearful calamity.

Oh who can say his heart is clean, but every one of us, even I, I which am a writer of this, am somewhat sensible of my own sins in having a joint-stock in the sins of the times, and a hand in pulling down those heavy judgments of God upon this land.

# X.

Of the King and his Army going against Scotland—Of a Great Navy of Spanish Ships at Sea—The King going with his Army the Second Time against Scotland.

In *April* 1639 our King with his armies went against *Scotland*,[1] and we looked for nothing but civil wars, and that the sword should be sheathed in one another's bowels. Oh how did I (with many others of God's children) pour out my enlarged heart unto the Lord that He would of His great mercy spare us one year longer, and try us once more, and send us our King in peace. And the Lord of His great mercy and long-suffering was entreated, and did spare us, and sent us our King in peace, and that not so much as one man slain as I heard of.

But yet here. Behold another great mercy of God toward us after our King was come home I heard of; there was a great navy on the sea; which here is part of a copy of a letter that I did see; it is thus:—

"Here is the greatest Armado now lies in the downs, of the Spaniards, that came to our coast since

[1] According to Rushworth, the King left London on March 27th, and reached York on the 30th; left York on April 29th, and arrived at Berwick on May 30th.

88. It consists of sixty-six vessels, whereof the Admiral carries sixty-four pieces of brass ordnance a piece.[2] And forty ships or galleys of fifty pieces of brass ordinance a piece. There is ten thousand land soldiers, and abundance of silver designed for *Dunkirk*; but some eighteen sail of Hollanders, under the command of the valiant General *Martin Harps* troops stopt their course, and fought *Saturday*, *Sabbath* day, and part of *Monday* last, wherein they say on both sides there is above three thousand men slain. The Spanish fleet have taken shelter on our coast, and the Hollanders wait upon them with thirty or forty sail of men of war, over which they must go to *Dunkirk*. It is said the Duke of *Medina* is general of the Spanish fleet."

Now herein the mercy of God lies, in that the enemies of God that were among us, had so contrived after they had stirred up this war with the Scots, and the King and strength of our land were in *Scotland* in fight, and so had ordered that there was no looking to, nor powder, nor other provision at our Cinque Ports,[3] that so this navy should come suddenly upon us, we then being unprepared and unprovided for them. For they hoped we should be in fight with the Scots, and we unprovided in our Cinque Ports, that then we might be the sooner surprised of them. But our God sits in heaven, and laughs them to scorn, for, first, we then had no fight with the Scots, and our King come home in safety. And the Lord stirred up the Hollanders to

[2] A peeces. [3] Sinkports.

fight for us; nay, our God himself did fight for us. For the means were but small; for but xviii sail of Hollanders, not thinking of such a navy as five score and six sail of Spaniards, so provided with five score and six pieces of brass ordnance, with ten thousand of soldiers, so suddenly to come; and yet the Hollanders to have slain so many of them, making them to take shelter: having but a few of themselves slain:[4] I say here is the very great goodness and mercy of God to us seen; in this His name have praise of all. I will over with this mercy again, that we might the more clearly see God's love to us. The great Armado of *Spain* in the year 1639 provided, as most do conjecture, by the intention of the Spanish and pope's faction among us to surprise this our native country of *England* at that time when there was a defiance between our King and the Scots. The Lord hath graciously frustrated their purposes and delivered His church and children by a miraculous way; we being without any force and strength of our own, rather than we should perish, the Lord raised up another nation to fight for us, namely, the Hollanders, who, discovering of them when they first came, about the first of *October*, set upon them with great violence,

[4] "It was thought by manie, that these five or six thousand Wallons and Irishes, which the Admirall of Holland had beaten back to Dunkirk, were intended against us: manie probabilities makes for this conjecture; however it be, diverse among us did praise God for the wracking of that fleet, as of ane armie of old beaten sojours coming upon us for our ruineing. From Ireland a prettie armie was expected; bot all these hopes proved bot soome wind."—*R. Baillie's Letters*, vol. i. p. 198.

and killed so many of their men that they were discouraged in their asinge, and before they returned, on the thirteenth of the same *October*, they fell to battle again. And the Admorall of *Spain* and many other great ships being so strong that cannon shot would not enter, they fired them; so that by fire and water they were all destroyed. Some of them they took; some they burned, and some they sunk, and some were drove upon the sands; and few left to go home to tell the news; praised be our God.

Before this I did see another letter, that shewed how that the King of *Spain* hath a great navy of ships at *Lisbon;* there are of them three hundred and twenty great ships, and sixty small ships, as pinks[5] and pinnaces; they are laden with soldiers and ammunition for war; there are sixty thousand land soldiers, and eight hundred of voluntary noblemen and gentlemen, thirteen thousand mariners, and three thousand galley-slaves; seven thousand barrels of gunpowder, three thousand of brass ordnance for field pieces. The general of the army is the Arch Duke of *Austria*. The other commanders are these: Duke *Albaigne,* Duke *Erdisicke*, Duke *Dadon*, Marquis *de Dal,* Don *Egmunda*, with divers other dons, whose names are yet to us unknown. There is also the young Marquis *Spinola,* with young Earl of *Tyrone,* the Earl *Arquila,* with thirty thousand horses to join with the army; the second son of the Duke of *Savoy* is high Admiral of this fleet, Sir

[5] Vessels with narrow sterns.

*Robert Dudley* vice Admiral; Sir *Griffin Markham*, and Sir *Guy Stanley*, colonels of the regiments. Also the Earl of *Westmerland* hath great command in this army. The *Persia* king hath sent to *Lisbon* twenty armed elephants, but to what end as yet is unknown. The city of *Dunkirk*, with other places in the *Netherlands* that are under the King of *Spain's* dominion, have prepared eighty ships for this service.

The end that I do take notice of this, is because I did hear it reported that they were for *England*, but say they were not. Yet this I know, our sins deserve it, and the enemies want not wills nor malice, for they gnash their teeth, and envy at our peace and prosperity; and if God doth strike fear on them that they dare not venture on us, and turn their minds to go another way, let God's name have all the praise.[6]

1640.—Now when the King was come back again from *Scotland*, there was a parliament called (whereof our hearts were glad); but it did break up presently, and nothing was done.[7] So that still there was oppression with the patentees, and great oppression in paying of money for new corporations, and they that were so poor that they had no money, scarce worth

[6] See Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, part ii. vol. ii. pp. 968-974. See also Appendix, Note V.

[7] "Upon the 13th of April the parliament began . . . . Twelve subsidies were demanded by the King, in lieu of which, the release of ship money was promised . . . . the King in person came into the house upon the 5th of May, and dissolved the Parliament."—May's *History of the Parliament of England*; Oxford, 1854.

ten shillings, were fain to sell that little that they had, to make money for that they had no right to pay, although they and their children want bread. This was a grievous oppression of those that did dwell in the out-parts of the city. So still there was oppression for ship money, and they that would not pay, some had the best of their kine or horses driven out of their ground, or their goods tatched[8] and taken away, or else themselves sent to prison to their great damage, if not to their undoing.

In *April* 1640 our King with his armies went again against *Scotland*, with abundance of shipping and provision for war. And now we looked for nothing but a bloody war. But our soldiers that were pressed here in *Essex* and other countries about us, they would not go,[9] but they still continued here. And here I will shew you some of the exploits that our soldiers did do in several counties this year, 1640.

[8] Attached.

[9] "Not long since, a company of vile wretches were gathered together to fight against our brethren of Scotland; yet these people, vile as they were, could not by any means be induced to fight against them."—*Burroughs.*

# XI.

Of the Exploits which the Soldiers did—Of the Bitterness of War (*continued*)—Of the Misery we were in when our King was gone to Scotland.

And first at *Bocking*, the Doctor there (being something fearful) gave unto the soldiers fifty shillings in money, and a barrel of strong beer, out of his good will, in hope that would have made them have gone quietly away. For which the soldiers said they must do something for it; and so they got into the church, and pulled up the rails, and being had before the justice, and being questioned who set them on work, they said, none but Mr. Doctor, for he gave us fifty shillings and a barrel of strong beer.

Then the soldiers went unto *Braintree* and pulled up the rails in the church there; and so they went to all the upland countries near *Braintree*; it is thought above fifty churches they went into, and pulled up the rails. They went to *Finchingfield*, to *Terling*, and to *Little Hayes*.[1]

At *Radwinke*, on the fast day, the soldiers went into the church, and pulled up the rails, and pulled down the images (which, as I hear, cost the parson to set up thirty pound) they tied the images to a tree and whipped them, then they carried them five mile unto *Saffron Walden*, and burned them, and

[1] Little Leighs.

roasted the roast, and heated the oven with it, and said, "If you be gods, deliver yourselves." They looked for the parson, Master *Drake*, but they could not find him; then the soldiers caught a duck, and pulled of her head, and hurled it into the church; and being asked why they did so, they answered they would serve the *Drake* so, if they could catch him.

At *Whelgolet*[2] church, a soldier hearing a sermon very patiently, when it was done, he went and set his hand on the Rails, and shook them; then some of the parish, and the minister, spake to him to forbear. Then said he, "Sir, I have been patient to hear you all this while, now you be patient towards me, for I will pull them up, though it cost me my life;" and then he made a speech to the rails, saying, "O thou Rails, thou hast been the cause," and so he pulled up the rails himself.

At *Chigwell*, the soldiers went to the church, and pulled up the Rails, and burnt them, and brake down all the images and crucifixes on the glass windows. They broke them to pieces, and they said one *Bishop* set them up, and another *Bishop* bid them pull them down. And they carried the images to *Brentwood*,[3] and nailed them unto a post, and wrote underneath them, "This is the God of Doctor *Newton*." And in the afternoon, the soldiers went to *Woodford*, and the minister gave them money, meat and drink, and they told him they would not meddle with him, nor with man nor child; but they stayed and heard the sermon, and then they went and

[2] North Weald?

[3] Burntwood.

pulled up the Rails, and carried them out, and burnt them, and set the Communion Table where it used to stand.

At *Colchester*, most of the churches there, the soldiers went in and pulled up the Rails, and the mayor was sent for, but he said, he would not meddle with it, for it was the Bishop's place.

At *Brentwood* did lie thirty soldiers, and on *Bartholomew's* day they went unto *Hutton* Church, and asked to go in to ring the bells. And so they went in, and they pulled up the Rails, and carried them into the lane, and burnt them.

My Lord *Maynard*,[4] when he was in *Saffron Walden*, to see the soldiers cotted,[5] he being afraid of the soldiers because they came about him, he took out a handful of money, and hurled it on the ground, and so set the soldiers a scrambling for it, and then set spur to his horse, and rode away with all the force he could.

At *Chelmsford* (on the 15th of *September*) there was a burial, and when the people were gone out of the church there was one man that was a plucking up the rails, and had pulled up one side of them; and he was taken up and examined why he did so, and he said he must do it. So they stayed him, but none did know what he was, nor where he dwelt.

At *Billericay* Church *January* (the 6) there was five or six went in and pulled up the Rails, and carried them into the fields and burned them; and

[4] Maynner. [5] Pass by.

then went and set the Communion Table in his right place again.

. . . . . .

So I heard that the soldiers in that county [Suffolk, mentioned previously][6] went into many churches there, and pulled up the rails, and set the Communion Table in his right place again.

At *Rickmansworth* the soldiers went into the Church, and pulled up the Rails, and set the Table in his right place.

At *Audumne* they pulled up the rails, and set the Table in his place. So the soldiers did at *Bussy*, at *Hemsted*, at *Gadsten*, and at *Studdem*.[7]

At a place near *Reading*, on the Lord's day, the soldiers went into the Church; the people then began to rise, but the soldiers bid them sit still, for they would not meddle with them, but they would have *Baal's* priest. So they went up, and began to pull the preacher down out of the pulpit; but the people stood up and said he was not their minister, for this is a stranger, a good man. Then the soldiers let him alone, and said they were sorry they had disturbed him, and desired him to go on, and they would hear him. And after sermon was done, then said a soldier, "What is yonder? a dresser-board;" with that they all went up, and pulled up the Rails, and carried them away. Afterward they went a good way off to a papist's house, and he was

[6] "Many railes were pulled downe, before the parliament; at Ippiswich, Sudbury, &c., Marloue, Bucks: the organs too, &c."—*Diary of John Rous.* Camden Society, London, 1856.

[7] Or, *Aldenham, Bushey, Hemel Hempstead, Gaddesden, Studham.*

not at home. Then they went into his house, and fetched out his wooden gods and crucifixes, and tied them by the heels, and drew them up and down through the town, and then burned them.

At *Ashford* there was a soldier, his name was *Bishop* (and he was a very peevish man) and the rest of the soldiers went and apparelled him like a Bishop, with a gown, white sleeves, and a flat cope. Then they called for a Sessions among themselves, and this Bishop was accused of the troubles that were come on the Church and Commonwealth; and so they condemned him to die, and as they were hanging him in jest (he striving with them) they had like to have hanged him in earnest, for he was almost strangled. And after this the soldiers went into the Church, and pulled up the Rails.

At *Lewisham*, the ninth day of *January*, being *Saturday*, at night when some were ringing of the bells, the Rails that were about the Communion table were pulled up, and it was not known who did it, nor what became of the Rails, but, as it is thought, they were cast into the river, and so carried quite away.

But by the way I will give you a little taste of the bitterness of war, and that done by our own soldiers in this our own land; I will impart unto you some part of a letter that came from *York* when our King was there. "My dear friends, I am so bound to you that I cannot but write a few words to certify you how it fares with us at *York* and thereabouts. We have no less than two and thirty thousand horse and foot at *York*, and within six

miles such spoil made of corn, and hay and grass, and fruit and trees, as is lamentable to behold. Sure these are those days foretold that tyrants shall abound. For most fearful blasphemies, horrible thefts, sure these are a people destined to destruction, for God's severe curse hath ever attended such men; and yet for all our misery this is not the least, that we have not one to tell us how long, nor yet that pities us in our sad condition; but divers punished for not joining with them, and not lending a hand to curse and swear. I the writer certify you of this, that you may be the more thankful for your peace and liberty, and more pitiful to us in this great misery. The King stays still at *York*, and the Lord Lieutenant keeps with him very close. Yesterday he had a great parley with the knights and gentry of the north to supply the King with money, but was withstood, that vexed him very sore. The country groans under the heavy burdens of ship-money, biletting of soldiers, and now setting forth their train-bands, with a month's pay in every man's purse, besides many particular grievances that many suffer under. And our Ministers are commanded now to possess[8] their people after sermon of the ill carriage of the Rebels, and how graciously his Majesty hath dealt with them from time to time, and to exhort their people to dutiful obedience, and to beware of having anything to do with those rebels. And one

[8] To make master of in point of knowledge, to inform precisely.—*Nares.*

Doctor *Marsh*, Minister of *Halifax*,[9] preached before the King yesterday such a sermon against false prophets, and said there were many of them gone to *New England*, and he doubted they were all such, and would also in the end prove various like the other. We expect the lords from the South very shortly; the Lord keep us from a mutiny, for all sorts complain, and we are far out of the good old way of bearing one another's burdens. I might say more, but this I do to give you a smite[10] of our condition, not doubting but you will ply the throne of grace, where we heartily desire to meet you, and all that wait for the day of our deliverance, not only from our present misery, but especially from the body of death, and the weight that presseth down. Now to God we desire and leave you and yours, and rest

"Your unfeigned

"G. Him.

"From York, the 13th of Septem. 1640.

"Also the Scots are pitched between *Durham* and *Newcastle*;[11] and we hear they intend to be at *York* the twenty-fourth of this month, if not before. They send as far as *Northallerton* and *Bedell* for provision of corn and cattle, but pay we have very honestly."

This letter did come where I was at a private Fast at that time.

Now what do I write out this letter for, but to

[9] Hulefax.

[10] A very small portion.—Wright's *Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English*; London, 1857.

[11] New Cassell.

shew forth God's great mercy and patience in this also; but to give you a little taste of it. First, see their dishonour unto God, in their blasphemies, swearing, and cursing, and if any did not so, then they should be called puritans or rebels, and so their fellows would be ready to punish them, and wrong them in what they could. Oh see God's great patience in forbearing, and the Lord's great mercy in sparing us.

Secondly, Oh see and behold the bitter fruits of war, in penury and want, for it makes a loss and a spoil of both fruits, trees, and grounds. I did hear that there were those that were worth five hundred pound a year, would gladly have sold it all for a hundred pound, and have given up the right title of it; and there is such spoil of ground, that it is thought that some will not recover it again these many years.

Thirdly, none could scarce enjoy his own house for lodging of soldiers, and great wrong done to women and maids, most horrible thefts. I did hear credibly [12] that our soldiers would get blue jackets, and apparel themselves like *Scots*, and so a company of them go together to out-houses or villages, and rob and pillage them.[13]

[12] Creditably.

[13] "Some of the English under our blew capes, became robbers every where. The most of the Churchmen having removed all that they had considerable, left their houses, with some trash, open, which their servants and neighbours spoiled: at once libels full of outrages done or feigned by the English themselves are presented to the King against us." —*R. Baillie's Letters and Journals*, i. 262. Printed for the Bannatyne Club.

Fourthly, this adds to misery when as we know no end, nor how long it will last.

Fifthly, Oh then consider how the enemies and flatterers and dissemblers be about our King, stirring him to go against these dear children of God, and the King's faithful subjects, and his true subjects that are gone to New England.

Sixthly, Consider the country groaning under the heavy burdens of ship-money, billetting of soldiers, and setting forth train-bands, with a month's pay in every man's purse.

Seventhly, See again how they command the Ministers to possess the people with wrongs and slanders against the King's best subjects, and call them rebels.

Lastly, Behold the slanders that are laid on the Scots, how they rob and take things from them without pay, where as *they* pay very honestly.

Oh now behold and consider of this great mercy of God, in delivering us out of this great misery, and causing war to cease!

And all this while that our King was gone against *Scotland*, what mocks and scoffs were cast upon the poor people of God, and calling the Scots rebels, and what books were made of them, and ballads[14] sung (of them) by every rascal, at the corners of our streets, to the heart's grief of the poor children of God. (Oh) what fears and horrors were here at home in regard of the popish and malicious enemies of God and his children; what plotting and acting of mis-

[14] Ballets.

chief; what filthy and terrible speeches did they cast forth against us out of their bloody and murderous hearts and cruel black mouths. One while, on the Lord's day, when we are at church, they would fire our houses. Another while (the speech was) they would come suddenly armed on us when we were at church, and slay us all (so that some of us with fear did carry their swords, and other weapons to church with them). Other whiles they would hurl balls of wild fire in the church, and burn us up. And the speech went that they did cast balls of wild fire in *Stepney* Church and some other Churches, but for the certainty I know not; but this I know, their will is to destroy us; but they lack power. So that here was great watching, with swords and halberds and other weapons throughout all the city, but especially on the Lord's day at our Churches' doors; but if the Lord had not kept the city, the watchmen had watched in vain.

Again, the Lord *Cottington*, he was made High Constable of the Tower, and he being a great papist, he would remove the Mint, and caused many houses to be pulled down there, and hoisted up the great ordnances of the high Tower, and placed many of them just against the City, setting up tents in the Tower, and getting into him there two hundred soldiers.

About this time began that filthy abominable book of Canons to come forth in execution.

# XII.

OF THE GOOD WE HAVE GAINED BY PRAYER.

Now do but think and meditate what deliverances we have had, and what mercies God hath shewed towards us here in this land, and you shall find them to be great and endless mercies.

O remember, remember (and let it never be out of your mind) that the year 1640 was a praying year;[1] for that year was a troublous and a sad year with the poor people of God; so that they were fain to meet in private to make their complaint unto God. And that the enemy did know full well, which made them send out their blood-hounds (the pursuivants) to smell and find them out, that they might devour them. But they were deceived; for the great God did preserve, and was a hiding-place unto his poor despised children. For behold in *April* the tenth day 1640, when so many of God's children did meet together in divers places in fasting and prayer for the King's good success in Parliament, then were many of these (blood-hounds, the) pursuivants abroad, yet I did not hear of any of us they took. On the Tuesday following, being the fourteenth of *April*, there were many did put that day aside to humble themselves in fasting and

[1] Appendix, Note W.

prayer unto the Lord; and the adversaries were told of it, that there were such a company is met together in *Cheapside;* you shall see in such a place ten houses on a row,[2] in one of them ten houses you may take a great company of them. So the pursuivants went, and searched nine of them houses, but could find none of them; and being discontented at it, or thinking they were mocked; but howsoever, God would not have it, for they did not search the tenth house, for there they were. So they missed of them; and God's people were delivered out of these blood-hounds' mouths. All glory be given unto this our God.

I did hear very credibly in the beginning of *September* that my Lord *Saye* was very sick even unto the death:[3] so that six doctors that were with him, they had given up all their verdicts he was for death. And there were a company that did set themselves to humble their souls in fasting and prayer to God for him. And at that time, in the very act of the duty, God (of His mercy) did send some reviving unto him; so that all may see that fasting and prayer is not in vain with the Lord. And now do I desire to go a little further into the winecellar of my God, and draw out of His fountain, and taste of some more of His many mercies in general to the whole land; for my

[2] Rooe.

[3] "I wrote in one of my letters of my Lord Saye's death, for so Durie assured the committee of Edinburgh; but thanks to God, he is recovering well, and now in reasonable health."—*Robert Baillie's Letters*, vol. i. p. 270.

desire is to observe, mark, and take notice how God hath accepted of the poor endeavours of His poor despised servants, and hath accepted of their humiliation, and granted their prayers in many particulars.

First, whereas before, the King would receive and grant no petitions, but now the King hath received and granted petititions, and now the King hath yielded (and granted) to have a Parliament.

Secondly, God hath heard our prayers in sending us our King again in safety.

Thirdly, whereas before, ship money was paid, now I heard of none that would pay it.

Fourthly, whereas before, our Bishops were liked, now they are much disliked, and are had in great detestation.

Fifthly, whereas before, our soldiers would go against Scotland, now not any that I know of in this land that would go.

Sixthly, whereas before, there was setting up of altars and images, but now pulling of them down, and pulling up the rails, and burning them and the images, and all with fire, and setting the Communion Table in his right place, and all this (and more) by the rude soldiers and common people. I do not justify or approve of them in this, but I see a hand of Providence, showing the evilness of our times, with the neglect of justice, and that by these rude soldiers.

Seventhly, whereas we said, that if the sword were once drawn, it would hardly be put up again;

but as *Ephraim* against *Manasses*, and *Manasses* against *Ephraim*, even as two pitchers should be dashed each against the other, and so broke together; yet behold, the sword was drawn, battles fought, and slaying a-both sides; and now the sword ceaseth, and is put up.

Eighthly, Oh how hath God heard our prayers, when He seemed not to hear us, for the breaking up of the parliament *May* 5, 1640, was the coming in of this parliament, 1640, being *November* the third.

Ninthly, Oh how hath God of His great mercy heard my prayers with many more of His children, that there is as many excellent and worthy good men chose again, that we trust will stand for the cause of God and His children, as ever there was before.

Tenthly, God's mercy in moving the heart of our King, that he hath left it freely to the honourable Court to do as they think good.

Eleventhly, God's great mercy, that now the Bishops are made more known unto all than ever before, what ravening wolves and cunning foxes they have been to all God's flock.

Twelfthly, Oh how hath God of His exceeding mercy heard my poor prayers in that all their cunning policy, projects, intents, and devices of these wicked enemies of God's church are coming to nought.

XIII. And let us remember this great mercy of God, and let it never be forgot, that the snare

that they made to catch God's children in, hath entangled themselves; as that execrable Book of Canons, with that cursed oath, which was a snare to catch the poor children of God in, they themselves are ensnared. So that we may sing with the prophet *David*—

"He digs a ditch, and delves it deep,
In hope to hurt his brother,
But he shall fall into the pit,
That he digged up for other.

"Thus wrong returneth to the hurt,
Of him in whom it bred;
And all the mischief that he wrought,
Shall fall upon his head.

"I will give thanks to God therefore,
That judgeth righteously;
And with my song will praise the Name,
Of Him that is most high."[4]

And had the other parliament held, the height of this their wickedness, it had not come thus to been seen, and made known. And now God hath heard our prayer in that the honourable Court is met together; for in *November* the third our Sovereign King *Charles* went unto parliament.

And on the seventh day of *November* we heard the petitions were received and granted, that Master *Burton*, Master *Prynne*, and Dr. *Bastwicke* were to be sent for again out of prison.

The ninth day of *November*, being *Monday*, other petition granted that Dr. *Leighton* set at liberty out

[4] Psalm vii. 16, 17, 18; Sternhold's version.

of prison. And Master *Peter Smart*, and *John Lilburn*, and divers more prisoners were set at liberty, which suffered for the cause of God, because they would not yield to the superstitious inventions of men.

Oh remember this great mercy of God, (on the 27th of *November*) that those worthy and dear servants of God, Mr. *Burton*, and Mr. *Prynne*, came to *London* with very great honour, many thousands meeting of them, some in coaches, some on horse-back, riding in rinks,[5] and some on foot, and all with rosemary and bays in their hands.[6]

The seventh day of *December* came Dr. *Bastwicke* to *London*, with as great honour and respect, many thousands meeting of him. I myself went to *Blackheath*, and did see very many coaches, and horse, and thousands on foot, with their rosemary and bays in their hands.[7]

[5] Ranks.

[6] This paragraph occurs again in the book, with this addition:—"which is generally esteemed the greatest affront that ever was given to the courts of 'un'-Justices in England."

[7] "Wise men conceived that their private returning to the Town, had signifyed as much gratitude to God, and lesse affront to authority. But some wildnesse of the *looks* must be pardoned in such, who came suddenly into the light out of long darknesse."—Fuller's *Church History*, book xi. See Appendix, Note X.

# XIII.

To the Courteous Reader.

Courteous Reader, I am constrained once again to shew you some of our miserable and woeful estate in Church and Commonwealth, for now by God's great mercy our miseries are more laid open than ever before.

Oh therefore remember, remember that as the year 1640 was a praying year, (but yet with much fear of pursuivants) for mercy with God; oh to remember the year 1641 was a great praying year, with much boldness in private houses without fear, that as the Lord had begun to shew mercy so He would be pleased to go on with His mercies. I think that most days of this parliament time there have been private meetings in fasting and prayer and thanksgiving, for I have been at many places, and at some places there have been hundreds, and some persons of no small account, for there have been coaches at the door for them. On Whitsun *Tuesday*, being the 14th of *May*, I heard of four or five great meetings of God's people in humiliation, and fasting, and prayer. And many youths and apprentices did meet at *Dyers' Hall* in fasting and prayer on that day. And, as some do think, there were five hundred of them, and six able ministers with them to go through the day in the performance

of duties with them. And some of them did continue till ten o'clock at night.

Consider how God hath heard our prayers in the turning of the wisdom of those cunning *Achitophels* into foolishness, even to the cutting off the head of that great *Goliath*.[1] And how hath the Lord heard us in the giving to many great ones the cup of fear and trembling that they have took them to their heels, and run their ways.[2] Oh, therefore, let us go on still in our prayers, that so God may go on in His mercies towards us, to the finding out and destroying of His and our enemies. For, do we not know that the Prelates have been the original cause of all the divisions and schisms in the Church, as well since Reformation as before? as may appear by their withstanding of it in the beginning, and also ever since, by their imposing things upon men's consciences contrary to God's word; and, to the uttermost of their power, persecuting all zealous and godly ministers, because they would not be obedient to their ungodly commands, and in the meantime maintaining and countenancing a dumb, idle, and scandalous ministry, so long as they would be conformable to them, yea, Popish ministers, and popishly addicted,[3] as may appear by the many petitions that you may see here followeth, that were presented to this Parliament, and to former Parlia-

[1] Earl of Strafford.

[2] The Lord Keeper Finch, and Secretary Windebank. See Appendix, Note Y.

[3] See Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, i. 209. Oxford, 1849.

ments; but the Prelates bear such a sway that no good could be effected. Wherefore let every good Christian pray earnestly unto God that He would put into the hearts of his Majesty and this Parliament utterly to abolish this Antichristian, hierarchical government, which hath been the chief hindrance of a thorough Reformation.

# XIV.

WHEN THE PARLIAMENT BEGAN—GOD'S MERCIES COME FLOWING IN AMAIN—ARTICLES PUT UP AGAINST ARCHBISHOP LAUD, AND THIRTEEN BISHOPS VOTED TO BE DELINQUENTS—A SCANDALOUS ARCHDEACON—AN ACT FOR ABOLISHING AND TAKING AWAY ALL ARCHBISHOPS, BISHOPS, &C.—NOTES.

ON "*Saturday* the 7th of *November*, 1640, the Parliament, being conveniently well settled, and Committees appointed for general grievances of all kinds,[1] divers members of the House of Commons, as, namely, Mr. *Grimstone*, that honest and religious lawyer, Sir *Francis Seymour*, Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*,[2] Mr. *Pym*, and Mr. *Bagshaw*, fell into such, all of them tending to one and the same purpose—viz., the abuses which have been of late in religion, violating of laws and liberties. And that afternoon, Sir *John Clotworthy*, of *Devonshire*, speaking long and largely of abuses in *Ireland* of the like kind reflecting much upon the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, as the common conceit was, but he was sparing in naming him."[3]

"On *Monday*, the House sat all day, and received petitions from all counties of *England* of all their

[1] See Appendix, Note Z.

[2] From *Diurnall Occurrences*. See Appendix, Note AA.

[3] Nov. 7, 1640. "The time of rising having come, and other Members appearing ready to continue the debate, an Order is suddenly made, That the door be shut, and none suffered to go out; (a very rare practice). The Lords are advertised, that that House, too, may be kept from rising."—Parry's *Parliaments*, p. 341.

grievances, and from divers others who were held themselves under oppression by sentences of the Star Chamber, Council Table, and High Commission Court, and otherwise. And the several complaints came in also against the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, divers let out of prison, and Mr. *Burton*, Mr. *Prynne*, and Dr. *Bastwick* sent for."[4]

"On *Tuesday* the petitions for the counties of the Kingdom were committed to a grand Committee to prepare them for the lords of the Upper House, and to be done with expedition. That day divers were enlarged out of prison to make their defence, and Mr. *Burton*, Mr. *Prynne*, and Dr. *Bastwick* were, by order, sent for to attend the Parliament."[5]

On *Wednesday*, the House of Commons had a complaint made unto them from the lords that the privileges of the Upper House had been broken, by reason that the Earl of *Warwick's*, and the Lord *Brooke's* pockets and boxes were searched upon the dissolving of the Parliament last holden, by Sir *William Beecher*, who pretended a warrant for the doing thereof from the Secretaries, *Vane* and *Windebanke*.[6]

"*Wednesday*, they locked up their doors for four

[4] From *Diurnall Occurrences*. [5] Ibid.

[6] "Secretary Windebanke, a most fierce Papist, is the most unfaithfull to the King of all men, who not onely betraies and reveales even the King's greatest secrets, but likewise communicates Counsels by which the designes may be best advanced. He at least thrice in every week converseth with the Legat in Nocturnal conventicles, and reveales those things which he thinke fit to be known; for which end, he hired a house neare to the Legate's house, whom he often resorts to through the garden doore, for by this vicinity, the meeting is facilitated."—Prynne's *Rome's Master-peece*; the second edition, 1644.

or five hours together, and upon their department to the lords, Sir *William Beecher* was sent for by the lords to the Fleet, and the Secretaries are still under the rod."

On *Thursday* "Mr. *Bagshaw*, a lawyer of the Middle Temple, in a speech he made, declared for law, That the Bishops and Clergy which held the late convocation were in a *præmunire* for holding it, for these reasons:—

"*First*, it was *Coram non Judice.*

"*Secondly*, they meddled with the property of laymen's goods.

"*Thirdly*, for the oath imposed.

"*Fourthly*, for the subsidies granted, and the manner of levying them, which was by excommunication, and deprivation of their livings."[7]

On the 16th and 18th of *November*, the Bishops sat in the Higher House, and sat in state *quo prius* by the lords of the Upper House; and in the House of Commons were these occurrences.

The same day "there was a debate made in the House of Commons of Bishops and Clergy for holding the Synod; the vote of the House of Commons wilined was a *præmunire*, but no judgment is given as yet."

God's mercies came flowing in amain, for, on Tuesday, the 12th of *January*, an order was made that Committees should sit until these businesses were dispatched.

"First, concerning the Earl of *Strafford.*

[7] From *Diurnall Occurrences.*

"Secondly, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

"Thirdly, the Canons.

"Fourthly, the Lord Keeper.

"Fifthly, Secretary *Windebanke*.

"Sixthly, the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*.

"Seventhly, the privileges of subjects, and breaches of Parliaments past.

"Eighthly, for Star Chamber, and High Commission.

"Ninthly, the proceeding of the Council Table.

"Tenthly, the King's Courts of Honour.

"Eleventhly, ship money, and the rigorous levying of it.

"Twelfthly, abuses of Lieutenant and Deputy of *Ireland*.

"Thirteenthly, the town of *Weymouth* concerning the restraint of salt, soap, and leather.

"Fourteenthly, for frequency of Parliaments, the Bill is drawn already, for having one in three years.

"Fifteenthly, a Committee for religion.

"Sixteenthly, for Trade.

"Seventeenthly, the Court of Justice."

Also a motion was made that a Committee would take into consideration proclamations, and those things that are contrary to law.[8]

1641. On *Wednesday*, the 13th of *January* there were "several petitions put into the House on behalf of three several counties concerning the great evils which we suffer by reason of the government of Bishops."[9]

[8] See *Rushworth*, part iii. vol. i. p. 134. [9] From *Diurnall Occurrences*.

On *Tuesday*, the 28th of *January*, in the House of Commons, there was a petition read out of *Oxfordshire*, with many thousand hands to it, against Bishops.

On *Monday*, the 1st of *February* "the Remonstrance with seven hundred Ministers' hands against Bishops and their Prelacy, was read in the House of Commons, and the greater part of this day was spent in the debate of it." [10]

"On *Monday*, the 8th [7th] of *February*, there was a great debate in the House of Commons concerning Episcopal government. This debate held from six [seven] of the clock in the morning till seven at night. Divers opinions there were, some for Reformation of Bishops, others to have them quite taken away." [11]

On *Tuesday*, the 23rd of *February*, divers complaints came in against Bishop *Mainwaring*, and the Bishop of *Norwich*.

On *Wednesday*, the 10th of *March*, the first head of the Bill against Episcopacy, for taking away the Bishops' voice in Parliament, was largely debatedof in the House of Commons, with great opposition by divers members of the House, for and against the same. And it was then resolved upon the question,

"First, that the legislative and judicial power of Bishops in the House of Peers is a hinderance to their spiritual functions, prejudicial to the common-

[10] From *Diurnall Occurrences*, where the assigned date is January 31st. This was known as the "Ministers' Petition."

[11] From *Diurnall Occurrences*.

wealth, and fit to be taken away by Bill. And, that a Bill be drawn for that purpose.[12]

God's great mercy in moving the honourable Court to set forth two proclamations, the one for the packing away of the Papist, the other for two fast days. One to be public over the whole city and suburbs, the 17th day of *November*, being *Tuesday*, the other fast day to be over all the whole land, and *Wales*, on *Tuesday*, the 8th day of *December*.

On *Friday*, the 11th of *December*, a petition was brought in to the House of Commons by Alderman *Pennington*,[13] from the citizens of *London*, under fifteen thousand of their hands, complaining of the Church's discipline in having of Archbishops, using the cross in baptism, kneeling at the receiving of the Communion used in the Protestant Church, and, after much time spent in discoursing of it, upon the Lord *Franklin's* motion, it was put over till *Thursday* next, to be then seriously and advisedly debated upon, there being many hundreds of the citizens in *Westminster* Hall, and the Palace Yard, expecting the issue of their petition.

On the 15th of *December* that filthy, abominable,

[12] See Parry's *Parliaments of England*, p. 350. London, 1839.

[13] Appendix, Note BB. This petition is known as "the root and branch petition," from the following sentence in it:—"We therefore humbly pray and beseech this honorable assembly, the premises considered, that the said government (of Archbishops, and Lord Bishops, deans and Archdeacons, &c., with their court and ministration in them) with all its dependences, roots and branches, may be abolished, and all the laws in their behalf made void," &c.

cursed, and execrable, and odious Book of Canons (which was to shoot and pierce our souls) was damned; for ever praised be our God for it.[14]

On Friday, the 18th of *December*, "the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was voted by the House of Commons to be a traitor; and Mr. *Hollis* was sent to the Lords to accuse him of high treason, which he did immediately, assuring the Lords that in convenient time there should be a charge put in against him, to make good the accusation, desiring that he might be sequestered from the House, and committed, which was forthwith done by the Lords."[15]

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*Articles of the Commons assembled in Parliament in maintenance of the Accusation, whereby* WILLIAM LAUD, *Archbishop of Canterbury, stands charged with High Treason.*[16]

"I. He endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws of this Kingdom, by giving his Majesty advice, both privately, and at the Council Table, High Commission, and other places, and said he would have them governed by civil laws. And said also, that he would make the proudest subject in the Kingdom give way, and, being told that was against law, he replied that he would make it law, and the King might, at his own pleasure, take what he pleaseth without law, being warranted by God's law.

"II. He countenanced books maintaining his unlimited and absolute power, wherein the power of Parliaments was denied.

[14] See *Rushworth*, part iii. vol. i. p. 112.
[15] From *Diurnall Occurrences*. [16] Ibid.

"III. He went about to interrupt the Judges by threatening them, and by other means to make them give false judgement, as doth appear by his handwriting.

"IV. In all his Courts there was no upright dealing, but bribery and oppression were the squares of them.

"V. He encroached jurisdiction of Canons, and they are not only unlawful, but prejudicial, and that he exerciseth his authority very tyrannically, both as a Councillor, Commissioner, and otherwise and elsewhere as a Judge, and his authority is derived from his own order, and not from the King.

"VI. He assumed capital power over his Majesty's subjects, and denied his power to be from the King.

"VII. By doctrine and otherwise he went about to subvert religion, and to set up Papists and superstition.

"VIII. By undue means and practices, he hath gotten the nominating of Ministers and Clergy, and hath preferred none but scandalous men thereunto, and hath preferred corrupt Chaplains to his Majesty.

"IX. His own Ministers, as *Haywood*, *Layfield*, and others, who were notoriously disaffected to religion.

"X. He endeavoured to reconcile us to the Church of *Rome*, and to that end hath employed a Jesuit and a priest, who are under pension, and to that end hath wrought with the Pope in several points.

"XI. To suppress preaching, he hath suspended divers honest and good Ministers, and hath written to several Bishops to suppress them.

"XII. He hath gone about to suppress the French religion here amongst us, being the same that we are of, and also the Dutch Church, and hath laboured to set division between us and them.

"XIII. From the first of the King till now, he hath endeavoured to subvert Parliaments, and touching that at *Oxford*, he gave forth many dangerous words, and so hath continued the like ever since.

"XIV. He went about to make division between the King and his people, and hath gone about to bring in innovations,[17] as by the Remonstrance may appear, and induced the King to this war, and many men upon their deathbeds he persuaded to give towards the maintenance of this war, and hath caused many clergymen to give freely towards it, and brought in many superstitions and innovations, as in the Church of *Scotland*, and procured the King to break the pacification, and to bring in a bloody war."[18]

It is neither Riches nor learning that makes a man gracious.

On Monday the 1st of *March* the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was sent to the Tower by order of the lords. 1641.

This year 1644, the Parliament and this city of *London* hath been much troubled with this Archprelate and little Grace of *Canterbury*,[19] in carrying him from the Tower to *Westminster* to answer

[17] See Appendix, Note CC. [18] See *Rushworth*, part iii. vol. i. p. 196.
[19] Appendix, Note DD.

before the Parliament to many foul abominations to which he is charged with, and is guilty of all, which hereafter, if I live to have time, I will gather them together out of those many pamphlets that I have by me. In the meantime here I take notices of three passages of his, which were spoken before the Parliament in July the 29th, 1644.

His little Grace this day did come again to his trial. There was then a speech to take notice of his dream, attested by persons of honour, to whom the Bishop many years since told the same, and it was told since to the King. That he dreamed when he was a scholar at *Oxford* that he should live to be a great man in the Church and commonwealth, and, in conclusion, should be hanged; with which he awakened out of his dream, and it was said when he told this dream to the King, "Pray God this man be not a soothsayer."

Another passage was very observable in the Diary of his own handwriting, that his picture being drawn to the life, and hanging in his study, was fallen to the ground, his face downward, at the beginning of the parliament. "Pray God" (saith he in his Diary) "that this signify not that the Parliament who are about to question me shall prevail."

In another place of his Diary he hath this passage; That on such a day of the month he was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and on that day, which was a day of so great honour unto him, that his coach and horses sunk as they came over the ferry

at *Lambeth* in the ferry-boat, and he prayed that this might be no ill omen.[20]

Oh stand, and admire, and wonder, and be amazed, at the patience and long sufferance of a just and righteous and loving God!

### *Concerning Bishop* WREN.

On *Saturday*, the 19th of December, 1640, the House of Commons accused before the Lords, Bishop *Wren* of high treason, for bringing in of Popery, and seducing the King's subjects in their religion, and prayed there might be some course taken for his appearance to a charge they would put in against him. Whereupon the Lords inforced him to enter into a recognizance of thirty thousand pounds to appear on *Wednesday* next, and to bring in three sureties to be bound in ten thousand pounds apiece for his attendance, or else he should then be committed to the Tower.

On *Monday* the 25th of *January*, there was a petition read in the house of Commons against Bishop *Wren*, Sir *John Lambe*, and Doc. *Ducke*, that they had forced a parish in *London* to pay forty pounds for being behind with the clerk of the parish for wages, and twenty mark apiece the two churchwardens, and it was found by the house to be illegal, and then ordered that they should pay the said moneys back again to the said parish.

On *Monday* the 5th of *July*, 1641, the charge

[20] See *Perfect Occurrences*, No. 32; and *Perfect Diurnall*, No. 53.

against Bishop *Wren* was read, and the great abuses by him committed; amongst which, a Butcher was gored by an ox, the wound was cured; the party desired public thanksgiving in the congregation; the Bishop commanded to be read the Collects used to be read for the churching of women, for his deliverance from the ox or cow; and after great debate it was resolved upon the question, and voted, that the said Bishop is unfit to hold or exercise any office in the church or commonwealth, and that there should be a message sent to the Lords, to desire them to join with the Commons in petitioning to his Majesty for his removing from the court and the King's service.

*A Report of the Committee of the Charge against* MATTHEW WREN, *Bishop of Ely, to the House of Commons, July the 5th,* 1641.

"I. That the said *Matthew Wren*, Bishop of *Ely*, hath excommunicated, deprived, or banished, within the space of two years, fifty godly, learned, and painful Ministers.

"II. His practising superstition in his own person.

"III. His causing the Communion Table to be placed altar-wise, and to be railed in; and kneeling, and consecrating the Bread and Wine at the west side of the Communion Table, with his back towards the people, and bowing to, or before the same.

"IV. Elevating the bread and wine high over his head, that the people might see it.

"v. Causing all the pews or seats to be so contrived, as that they must of necessity kneel with their faces towards the east.

"vi. Employed his power to restrain powerful preaching, forbidding of sermons on Sunday afternoon, or in the week days, without his licence; and lest expounding the Catechism and Common Prayer Book, should be as bad as preaching, as he and some of his officers said, therefore he inhibits any manner of exposition, and enjoins only the bare question and answer in the Common Prayer Book.

"vii. And to the end the people shall not know where there is any sermons, commands all ringing of bells to be alike, that so the people may not distinguish where there is a sermon, or where there is but prayer.

"viii. He permitted no prayer to be said before sermon, but that which is directed in the 39th Canon, which hath no warrant of law, and after sermon suffers no prayer at all, but only Gloria Patri, &c.

"ix. He hath published a Book of Articles to which the churchwardens were to be sworn, and these thirty-nine Articles contained at least 897 Questions; one whereof was this: 'Doth any man discourse profanely at meal-time touching religion or the Holy Scripture?' Another, 'Doth the Minister expound the Holy Scripture according to the sense of the Ancient Fathers?' Which question, it is believed, would puzzle the deepest learned churchwarden in England to answer."

And after some time spent in the debate of the said Articles, it was resolved upon the question and voted, that it is the opinion of this house that *Matthew Wren*, Bishop of *Ely*, is unworthy and unfit to hold or exercise any office or dignity in the Church or Commonwealth. And further voted, that there be a message sent to the Lords to desire them to join with the Commons in petitioning his Majesty to remove Bishop *Wren* both from his person and service.[21]

Now follow more at large the Articles of impeachment against *Matthew Wren*, Doctor in Divinity, late Bishop of *Norwich*, and now Bishop of *Ely*.

*Articles against Bishop* WREN.

"That the said *Matthew Wren*, being popishly and superstitiously affected, did at his first coming to be Bishop of *Norwich*, which was in the year 1635, endeavour by sundry ways and means to suppress the powerful and painful preaching of the word of God, did introduce divers orders and injunctions, tending to superstition and idolatry, did disturb and disquiet the orderly and settled estate of the Ministers and people, and churches of that diocese, to the great prejudice of his Majesty, the great grief and disquiet, and hazard of the estates, consciences, and lives of many of his Majesty's loyal subjects there, to the manifest bringing in and increasing of profaneness, ignorance, and disobe-

[21] From *Diurnall Occurrences.*

dience in the common people (as by the particulars ensuing may appear).

"I. Whereas many Chancels of Churches during all the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and of his Majesty that now is, had laid and been continued even and flat, without any steps ascending towards the east end of the same, he of his own mind and will, without any lawful warrant or authority, in the year 1636, being then Bishop of *Norwich*, ordered and enjoined that the same should be raised towards the east end, some two, some three, some four steps, that so the Communion Table there placed altar-wise might be the better seen of the people.

"II. He in the same year, 1636, ordered that the Communion Table should be set up close under the wall at the east end of the Chancel, altar-wise, whereby the Minister must either stand and officiate at the north end of the Table, so standing altar-wise, or else after the popish and idolatrous manner, and officiate at the west side of the Table with his back towards the people.

"III. He in the same year enjoined that there should be a Rail set on the top of the new raised steps before the Communion Table, so set altar-wise as aforesaid, which rail should reach from the south side of the Chancel to the north within; which the Minister only should enter, as a place too holy for the people; and some of the people were punished for stepping into it, as, namely, *Daniel Wayman*, and others.

"IV. The more to advance blind superstition, he in the same year, 1636, ordered that all the pews in the Churches should be so altered that the people might kneel with their faces eastward towards the Communion Table, so set altar-wise as aforesaid; and that there should be no seats in the Chancel, above, or on either side even up with the said Table.

"V. He in the same year enjoined that every Minister, after he had finished the reading of some part of the Morning Prayer at the desk, should go out from the same to the Holy Table, set altar-wise, as to a more holy place, and there, when no Communion was to be administered, read at the said Table a part of the service called the Second Service, whereby the consciences both of the Minister and people have been not only very much offended and grieved, but also the service itself was made very unprofitable to the people, who could not hear what was said or prayed in that place.

"VI. That both in his own person, his chaplains, and others of the clergy [as namely, Mr. *John Nowel*, Mr. *William Guest*, Mr. *John Dunckon*, and others] following his example, did, ever after the Table was so set altar-wise, use and perform such, and so many, and such frequent bowing and adorations before and towards the same Table, as have been dangerous examples to draw others to the like superstitious gestures, and have given great scandal and offence to the sound, sincere, and well-affected Christians.

"VII. He in the said year enjoined all the people to come up to the rail to receive the Holy Communion, and there kneel and do reverence before the holy Table, placed altar-wise, and gave directions to the Ministers not to administer the Communion to such people as should not so come up, and do such reverence as aforesaid. This was to the offence of the consciences of many good people, who for fear of idolatry and superstition, durst not come to kneel at the said rail. And many people not coming up thither, though presenting themselves upon their knees in the Chancel, have not had the Communion delivered unto them, and afterward for not receiving have been excommunicated.

"VIII. He did in the said year, 1636, enjoin and command that there should be no sermons, on the Lord's day in the afternoon, or on the week days at all, without his licence. And also enjoined that there should be no catechizing, but only such questions and answers as are contained in the Book of the Common Prayer, not allowing the Ministers to expound or open the points of the same to the people, he and his under officers affirming in public places that such an exposition might be as ill as a sermon. And the more to hearten and confirm the people in profaning the Lord's day, he enjoined the Ministers to read publicly in their Churches a book touching sports on the Lord's day, for not reading whereof some Ministers were, by the command and directions of the said Bishop, suspended, and some deprived, and some otherwise troubled.

By all which, knowledge was suppressed, and ignorance and profaneness introduced into that diocese.

"IX. He, to hinder the people in their good desires of serving God and edifying their souls, did in the same year, 1636, command and enjoin that there should be no difference in ringing of bells to Church, when there was a sermon, and when there was none.

"X. Whereas many godly Ministers, for the preventing of the great sin of the people of unworthily receiving the Holy Communion of the Lord's Supper, did use to preach two or three days before every Communion a preparation sermon, to prepare and instruct the people in the worthy receiving of the Communion, he, the said Bishop did, in the said year, forbid Ministers to preach any such preparation sermons in that Diocese, as, namely, Mr. *Devereux*, Mr. *Swaine*, and other Ministers.

"XI. He, endeavouring to suppress the power and benefit of prayer, in the year 1636 enjoined that no Minister should use any prayer before his sermon (but move the people to pray only in the words of the fifty-seventh Canon, which Canon was not made by law), and that no prayer should be used before or after sermon. And he in his own person having been at the sermon in the town of *Ipswich*[22] when the preacher did use or make any other prayer, did sit upon his seat without using or giving any reverence of kneeling, thereby to discountenance prayer. And he enjoined that no

[22] Epswich.

prayer should be made in the pulpit for the sick, and that such as were prayed for in the reading-desk should be prayed for in the two Collects prescribed for the visitation of the sick in private houses.

"XII. He, the more to alienate the people's hearts from hearing of sermons, in the said year 1636, commanded all Ministers to preach constantly in their hood and surplice, a thing most offensive to the people, as a scandalous innovation. And the parishioners of *Knatshall*, wanting a surplice, he did by his officers enjoin the Churchwardens there that no prayers should be read in that Church till they had got a surplice, which they, not getting for the space of two Lord's days after, had no prayers during that time, there.

"XIII. That, during the time of his being Bishop of *Norwich*, which was about two years and four months, there were, for not reading the second service at the Communion table set altar-wise, for not reading the 'Book of Sports,' for using conceived prayers before and after sermons, and for not observing some other illegal innovations, by him, and his under-officers by his directions, sundry godly, painful, preaching Ministers, that is to say, Mr. *William Powell*, Mr. *John Carter*, Mr. *Robert Peck*, Mr. *Bridge*, Mr. *Green*, Mr. *Mott*, Mr. *Raymond*, Mr. *Scott*, Mr. *Greenhill*, Mr. *Beard*, Mr. *Hudson* Mr. *Kent*, Mr. *Burrow*, Mr. *Allen*, and others, to the number of fifty, were excommunicated, suspended, or deprived, and otherwise censured and

silenced, to the undoing of many of them, their wives, and their children, by means whereof some Ministers were forced to depart this realm into *Holland* and other parts, beyond sea, and some of them so prosecuted, as hath been suspected to be the cause of their deaths, the terror of which proceedings hath caused other Ministers to leave their cures, and go away. And, if a stranger preached at the cure of such person suspended, the Churchwardens were enjoined penance, and otherwise troubled.

"XIV. That, during the time that he was Bishop of the said see of *Norwich*, he did unlawfully compel the inhabitants of the several parishes to raise the floors of the chancels of their Churches, to rail in the Communion tables, to remove the pews and seats, and to make other alterations in the churches, in the doing whereof the said inhabitants were put to great and excessive and unnecessary charges, amounting in the whole to the sum of five thousand pounds and upwards, which said charges he did, by unlawful courses, enforce the said inhabitants to undergo, and such as did not obey the same, he did vex, trouble, and molest by presentments, citations, excommunications, tedious and frequent journeys, and by attendance at the Courts of his Chancellors, and other his officials.

"XV. That, for not coming up to the rail to receive the Holy Communion, kneeling before the table altar-wise, for not standing up at the Gospel, and for not observing and performing of his unlawful innovations, many other of his Majesty's

subjects have by him, his Chancellors, visitors, and commissaries, by his command, [been] much molested, disquieted, and vexed in their estates and consciences, by citations to the Courts, long attendance there, dismissions, fees, excommunications, and other censures.

"XVI. That, by reason of the rigorous persecutions and dealings in the last precedent Articles mentioned, and by reason of the continual superstitious bowing to and before the table, set altarwise, the suspending, silencing, driving away of the painful preaching Ministers, the suppressing and forbidding of sermons and prayer, the putting down of lectures, the suppressing means of knowledge and salvation, and introducing ignorance, superstition, and profaneness, many of His Majesty's subjects, to the number of three thousand, many of which used trades of spinning, weaving, knitting, and making of cloth, and stuff, and stockings, some of them setting a hundred poor people at work, have removed themselves, their families, and estates, into *Holland*, and other parts beyond the seas, and there set up, and taught the natives there, to the great hindrance of trade in this Kingdom, and to the impoverishing, and bringing to extreme want very many who were by those parties formerly set on work, to the great prejudice of His Majesty and his people.

"XVII. That he, the said Bishop, finding the people to distaste his innovations, have often in public and private speeches declared, that what he

did in the same was by His Majesty's command; whereby he, contrary to the duty of his place, being Dean of his Majesty's Chapel, and contrary to the duty of a good and loyal subject, endeavoured to free himself of blame, and to raise an ill opinion of His Royal Majesty in the hearts of his loving subjects.

"XVIII. That he, the said *Matthew Wren*, being Bishop of *Norwich*, in the said year 1636, in the Tower Church in *Ipswich* and other places, did, in his own person, use superstitious and idolatrous actions and gestures in the administration of the Lord's Supper, consecrating the bread and wine standing at the West side of the table, with his face to the East, and his back towards the people, elevating the bread and wine so high as to be seen over his shoulders, bowing low, either to, or before them, when he, after the elevation and consecration, had set them down on the table.

"XIX. That he, the more to manifest his popish affections, in the said year 1636, caused a crucifix, that is to say, the sign of Christ upon the Cross, to be engraven upon his episcopal seal, besides the arms of the see.

"XX. That he hath chosen and employed such men to be his Commissioners, Rural Deans, and to be his household Chaplains, whom he knew to be, and stand, affected to his innovated courses and to popish superstitions, and to be erroneous and unsound in judgement and practice.

"XXI. That he hath very much oppressed divers

patrons of Churches, by admitting, without any colour of title, his own Chaplains, and others whom he affected, into livings which became void within his diocese, unjustly enforcing the true and right patrons to long and chargeable suits to evict such incumbents, and to recover their own right.

"XXII. That he and others, in the year 1635, sold, or granted away, the profits of his primary visitation for five hundred pounds, over and above the charges of the visitation; and, for the better benefit of the Farmer set forth a book in the year 1636, intituled Articles to be enquired of within the Diocese of *Norwich* in the first visitation of *Matthew*, Lord Bishop of *Norwich*, consisting of a hundred and thirty-nine Articles, and wherein are contained the number of eight hundred and ninety questions, according to all which the Churchwardens were enforced to present, under pain of perjury. And some Churchwardens, not making presentments accordingly, were cited, molested, and troubled, and enjoined penance, notwithstanding many of said Articles were ridiculous and impossible.

"XXIII. That the Churchwardens, and other men, sworn at the visitation, were enforced to have their presentments written by clerks, specially appointed by such as bought the said visitation, to whom they paid excessive sums of money for the same, some two and twenty shillings, as, namely, *Richard Hurrell*, *John Punchard*, and others, some more, some less, for writing one presentment to the grievous

oppression of His Majesty's poor subjects in that diocese.

"XXIV. Whereas by the law of this Realm no tithes ought to be paid out of the rents of houses, nor is there any custom or usage in the city of *Norwich* for such payment, yet the said Bishop endeavoured to draw the citizens, and other inhabitants within the said city, against their wills and consents, to pay two shillings in the pound, in lieu of the tithes of houses within the several parishes of the said city unto the Ministers there of the said respective parishes. And, the better to effect this his unjust resolution, he did, by false and undue suggestions, in the fourteenth year of His Majesty's reign that now is, procure His Majesty to declare under his Highness' great Seal of *England* his royal pleasure, That if any person within this city shall refuse to pay, according to the said rate of two shillings in the pound unto the Minister of any parish within the said city, That the same be heard in the Court of Chancery, or in the Consistory of the Bishop of *Norwich*; And, that in such case no prohibition against the said Bishop of *Norwich*, their Chancellors, or commissaries, in the said courts of consistory be granted; And if any such writ be at any time obtained, the judges so granting the same, upon sight of his Highness' order, shall forthwith grant a consultation to the Minister desiring the same, with his reasonable costs and charges for the same; which said order and decree, under the Great Seal of England, tended to the violation of the oaths

of the Judges, and was devised, contrived, and made by the same Bishop, and afterwards, by his evil counsels and false surmises, he did obtain His Majesty's royal assent thereunto, and by the colour of the order aforesaid, and other the doings of the said Bishop, the citizens, and inhabitants of *Norwich* aforesaid, have been enforced to pay the said two shillings in the pound in lieu of tithes, or else by suits, and other undue means be much molested, and put to great charges and expense, contrary to law and justice.

" xxv. That he assumed to himself an arbitrary power to compel the respective parishioners in the said Diocese to pay great and excessive wages to parish Clerks, viz., the parishioners of *Yarmouth*, *Congham*, *Tostock*, and others, commanding his officers that if any parishioner did refuse to pay such wages they should certify him their names, and he would get them into the High Commission Court, for example of the rest; and that one or two out of *Ipswich* might be taken for that purpose.

" And the said Commons, by protestation, saving to themselves the liberties of exhibiting at any time hereafter any other accusation or impeachment against the said *Matthew Wren*, late Bishop of *Norwich*, and now Bishop of *Ely*, and also of replying to the Answer that he, the said *Matthew Wren*, shall make unto the said Articles, or any of them, or of offering proof of the premises or any other impeachment, or accusations that shall be exhibited by them as the case shall (according to the course of

Parliament) require, do pray that he, the said *Matthew Wren*, may be called to answer the said several crimes and misdemeanours, and receive such condign punishment as the same shall deserve, and that such further proceedings may be upon every of them had, and used against him as is agreeable to law and justice."

On *Wednesday*, the 27th of *January*, "it was reported in the House of Commons that there were fifty-two families in *Norwich* that went into *New England*, by Bishop *Wren's* pressing their consciences with illegal oaths, ceremonial observations, and many strange innovations." [23]

On the 3rd of *August*, 1641, the House of Commons voted thirteen of the Bishops to be delinquents, as chief authors, agreeing there should be a report made thereof to the Lords, wherein they desired their impeachment for the same, it tending to sedition, of dangerous consequence, against the privileges of Parliament, and against the law of the Kingdom. There was also a question then made what this charge against them should be termed, whether treason or *præmunire*, but they agreed to make no resolution therein, only as they should be found guilty upon trial.

*August* the 4th. "The impeachment against the Bishops, sent up by Serjeant *Wylde*, and de-

[23] From *Diurnall Occurrences*. "The Articles of Impeachment against Bishop *Wren*, were carried up to the Lords, and a smart aggravating speech made at the delivery of them by Sir *Thomas Widdrington*." —*Rushworth*, part iii. vol. i. p. 350. See Appendix, Note EE.

livered at the bar in the Lords' House, verbally by order of the House :—

"My Lords, The Knights, Citizens, Burgesses of the Commons' House of Parliament, being sensible of the great infelicities and troubles which the Commonwealth hath sustained by the exorbitant courses of the Bishops, And knowing well what the wise man saith, 'That if sentence be not speedily executed against an evil work, the hearts of the sons of men are set upon further mischief,' the timely redress whereof doth better become the wisdom of Parliament, than too late woful repentance, have commanded me to represent unto your Lordships, That *Walter*, Bishop of *Winchester*; *Robert*, Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*; *Godfrey*, Bishop of *Gloucester*; *Joseph*, Bishop of *Exeter*; *John*, Bishop of *Asaph*; *William*, Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*; *George*, Bishop of *Hereford*; *Matthew*, Bishop of *Ely*; *William*, Bishop of *Bangor*; *Robert*, Bishop of *Bristol*; *John*, Bishop of *Rochester*; *John*, Bishop of *Peterborough*; *Morgan*, Bishop of *Llandaff*, together with *William*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*,[24] and other of the clergy of the province at a convocation, or synod, for the same province, begun at London, in the year 1640, did contrive, make, and promulge several constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, containing in them divers matters contrary to the King's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and

[24] The surnames of these Bishops were, Curle, Wright, Goodman, Hall, Owen, Piers, Coke, Wren, Roberts, Skinner, Warner, Owen, and Laud.—Cobbett's *Parliamentary History.*

statutes of the Realm, to the right of Parliaments, to the property and liberty of the subjects, and matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence. And to add the more weight to this their monstrous design, they did, at the same synod, under a specious and fair title, grant a benevolence, or contribution to His Majesty, to be paid by the clergy of the province, contrary to law. It rested not there; for, though this had been enough to have affrighted and terrified the King's people with strange apprehensions and fears, yet, that these might not seem to be contrivances of the brain, or fancies only, they were put into execution, and were executed upon divers with animosity and rigour to the great oppression of the clergy of this realm, and other his Majesty's subjects, and in contempt of the King, and of the law. Whether these persons, my Lords, that are culpable of these offences, shall be thought fit to have interest in the legislative power, your Lordships' wisdom and justice is able to judge; but for these matters and things, the Knights, Citizens, Burgesses of the Commons' House of Parliament, in the name of themselves, and of all the Commons of England, do impeach the said Bishops before named of the crimes and misdemeanours before expressed, and do therefore pray that they may be forthwith put to their Answers in the presence of the Commons, and that such further proceedings may be had against them as to law and justice shall appertain."

On *Wednesday*, the 26th[25] of *May*, [1641] the House of Commons fell into debate for the speedy drawing up of a Bill for the quite taking away of Bishops, with their dependence and ecclesiastical Government in regard to the former Bill, for the taking away their voice in Parliament, hath not passed the House of Lords, as was ensented.

On *Thursday*, the 3rd of *June*, there was "a report of divers reasons to satisfy the Lords[26] wherefore Bishops should not meddle in temporal affairs, or have voice in Parliament, brought from Scripture, and by the laws and the canons, and the oath they took at their institution, where they swear to give up themselves wholly to the calling of the ministry, and do nothing else."[27]

On *Tuesday* the 5th of *January*, "an information was given in by Alderman *Pennington* that *William Pearce*, Archdeacon, son to the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, should say in Mr. *Coleman's* house (who seemed to be sorrowful that the last Parliament was dissolved) a pox of God take them all for a company of puritanical, factious fellows that would withdraw the King for money, being that a Spanish Don would lend him two millions, and that the King should never be in quiet till he had taken off twenty, or more, of their heads; this proved by three witnesses. He was on his knees at the Bar, and denied it, so he was delivered to the Serjeant at Arms until they proceed to the censure."[28]

[25] Probably the 27th.

[26] See Appendix, Note FF.

[27] From *Diurnall Occurrences*.

[28] From *Diurnall Occurrences*, where the assigned date is Dec. 29th.

*An Act for the Abolishing and Taking away of all Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Chanters and Canons, and all other their Under Officers out of the Church of England.*

"Whereas the Government of the Church of *England* by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Archdeacons, and other their Ecclesiastical Officers, have been found by long experience to be impediments to the perfect Reformation and growth of religion, and very prejudicial to the civil state and government of this Kingdom:

"Be it therefore enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, the Lords and Commons in this Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That from henceforth there shall be no Archbishop, Bishops, Chancellors or Commissaries of any Archbishops, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendary, Chanter, Canon or petty Canon, or any other officer within this Church and Kingdom.

"And that every parson that shall hereafter use or exercise any power, jurisdiction, office, or authority, ecclesiastical or civil, by colour [of] any such names, title, dignity, office, or jurisdiction, shall incur the penalty and forfeiture contained in the Act of Provision and *Præmunire*, made in the 16th year of King *Richard* the Second.

"And that all Acts hereafter done by any such Archbishop, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Dean and Chapters, Archdeacon, Pre-

bendary, Chanter, Canon, or any other officer, by colour of any, their dignities or office aforesaid shall be merely void and of none effect in law, any statute or ordinance heretofore made to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

"And that all manourers, land Tenants, Rectories, impropriations, Advowsons, Rents, services, and other hereditancy whatsoever of the said Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Canons, petty canons, which they, or any of them hath in right of their said churches and dignities, shall be disposed of and ordered in such manner and form as the King's most excellent Majesty, the Lords Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, shall appoint and direct.

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction fit to be used and exercised within this church and kingdom of *England*, shall be committed to such number of persons in such sort and manner as by this present Parliament shall be appointed."

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And although this is not as yet fully confirmed by the house of Lords, yet he that hath an eye of faith may see it now in the hand of the great and mighty God, ready to bestow this mercy (with the rest of His mercies) on us if we are fit to receive it. Nay, I am sure the Lord will do it, for His word hath said it, that *Babylon* is fallen, is fallen.

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On *Friday* the 5th of *February* [164½] it is voted that no clergyman shall have anything to do in secular affairs;[29] and that those that be in the Commission of the Peace in any of the Counties of *England* and *Wales*, shall be left [out] upon the receiving of the Commission the next Assizes. And that no clergyman shall have a place, or bear office, in any temporal affairs.

On *Tuesday* the 9th of *March*, it was resolved by the House that there might be "a Bill drawn against such as have pluralities of livings, or are non-residents; and that no Minister have but one living, and that if he that hath a living shall be absent himself forty days, he shall lose it. And that no university man shall have a living that is above ten miles off, unless he live upon it. And that all Ministers that shall be scandalous in their lives, or erroneous in their doctrines, shall be put out."[30] And that no Minister, unless a servant to the King, shall have more than one living, and those that had should leave them before the first of *February* next.

The Lord said He would not destroy the Canaanites before *Israel* altogether; but by little and little.

*David* saith, God will let me see my desire upon my enemies. Slay them not, lest my people forget it, but scatter them abroad in Thy power, and put them down, O Lord our shield.—*Psalm* lix. 10, 11.

[29] "*Feb.* 5.—The *Lord's* pass the Bill for disenabling all Persons in Holy Orders, to exercise any Temporal Jurisdiction or Authority."—Parry's *Parliaments*, p. 378. [30] From *Diurnall Occurrences.*

That is, slay them not altogether, but by little and little, so that we seeing oftentimes the judgments of God, may be the more mindful of them.

Thus the Lord doth consume our enemies (the Bishops) and take away their horns, their strength and power by degrees, as first, the putting down those two courts, the Star Chamber Court, and the High Commission Court, which have pushed and put down many a one.

Secondly, after abundance of trouble, and little or no hope to have these Bishops down, for all that ever man could do, then at last God of His mercy puts in, and down they come; for He turneth the wisdom of the wise and learned into foolishness, that their selves make a halter to hang themselves, in their protesting that the parliament could not be without them. So then at one time twelve of them had such a fall as I hope they will never rise again. For on the 16th of February, 1642, there came forth an Act for dis-enabling all persons in Holy Orders to exercise any Temporal Jurisdiction or Authority.

"Whereas Bishops and other persons in Holy Orders ought not to be entangled with secular jurisdiction (the office of the Ministry being of such great importance, that it will take up the whole man) And for that it is found by long experience, that their intermeddling with secular jurisdictions hath occasioned great mischiefs and scandal both to Church and State, his Majesty out of his religious care of the Church and souls of his people, is graciously pleased that it be enacted, And by authority

of this present parliament be it enacted, That no Archbishop, or Bishop, or other person that now is, or hereafter shall be, in holy orders, shall at any time after the fifteenth day of February in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred forty-one, have any seat or place, suffrage or voice, or use, or execute any power or authority in the parliaments of this Realm, nor shall be of the Privy Council of His Majesty, his heirs or successors, or Justice of the Peace of Oyer and Terminer, or Goal Delivery, or execute any temporal authority by virtue of any commission; But shall be wholly disabled, and be incapable to have, receive, use or execute, any of the said offices, places, powers, authorities, and things aforesaid.

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all Acts from and after the said fifteenth day of *February*, which shall be done, or executed by any Archbishop or Bishop, or other person whatsoever in holy orders, and all and every suffrage or voice given or delivered by them or any of them, or other thing done by them, or any of them contrary to the purport and true meaning of this present Act, shall be utterly void to all intents, constructions, and purposes."

# XV.

Of Scandalous Doctors—Of Scandalous Ministers—Of Unjust and Corrupted Judges—Of that Unjust and Corrupted Lord Keeper—Articles of Impeachment against Sir Thomas Gardiner.

## *Of Scandalous Doctors.*[1]

### *Of Doctor* Cannis.

On *Wednesday* the 25th of *November*, Doctor *Cannis* was brought a delinquent into the lower house of Parliament, to answer an indictment heretofore preferred against him, for saying that the King was not the head of the Church, and he came to the bar there kneeling as a delinquent. There are other articles against him for seducing the King's subjects to become Papist. He is one of the Convocation House, notwithstanding he is a prisoner in the custody of a Serjeant-at-Arms.

### *Of Dr.* Cosins.

On *Friday* the 22nd of *January*, [164$\frac{9}{1}$] it was voted in the House of Commons that Doctor *Cosins* was not worthy to bear any office in university, or Church, and that Mr. *Smart*, whom he had caused to be deprived of his prebendary and living, should be restored to him again, and the means, and profits, and cost.[2]

On the 22nd of *February*, being *Monday*, there was

[1] Appendix, Note GG. [2] See *Rushworth*, part iii. vol. i. p. 152.

a Report against the Dean and prebend of *Durham*, whereof Doctor *Cosins* is one.

On *Tuesday*, the 16th of *March*, then Doctor *Cosins* was voted against in the House of Commons, for that he caused two thousand pounds to be spent in *Durham* for the setting up of innovations, and other devices in the Church, burning two [three] hundred wax candles at a time.

The holy knife to cut the communion bread was also consecrated, and pictured our Saviour with a golden beard, and a blue cap on his head, the which a Scottish man seeing, said he never knew Christ to be his countryman before.[3]

*Of Dr.* CHAFFIN.

On *Saturday*, the 13th of *February*, "Doctor *Chaffin* was brought upon his knees (being one of the convocation the last Parliament) for adding these words to the Litany, 'From all lay Puritans, and all lay Parliament men, good Lord, deliver us,' and likewise he preached it in his sermon at the visitation. There was at this time, likewise, a petition preferred by *Gloucester* men that there were eight parishes, and never a constant preacher. And, likewise, a Reverend preacher examined upon his text, for teaching we ought to serve God in Spirit and truth. And another, for repetition of his sermon, was committed close prisoner six weeks, by the Archbishop and Bishop *Wren*."[4]

[3] See Appendix, HH.

[4] From *Diurnall Occurrences*, where the name is given *Chayfield*.

### *Of Dr.* Lamb.

On *Monday*, the 22nd [21st] of February, 164$\frac{0}{1}$, Doctor [Sir John] *Lamb*, and Sir Nathaniel *Brent* was questioned for enjoining the repairing of organs, and setting up of new organs in Churches; and on *Saturday*, the 6th of *March*, Doctor *Lamb* was brought upon his knees in the House of Commons for the causing of organs to be set up in Churches, and enjoining of ceremonies, and the like innovations, whereof is referred till the next week.[5]

### *Of Dr.* Bray.

On *Tuesday*, the 17th of *March* [Wednesday the 16th], "there was an order made by the Lords, that Doctor *Pocklington's* books of 'Sunday no Sabbath' and 'Altare Christianum' shall be burnt, a warrant being signed to the Lord Mayor of *London* to see the same performed, and that Doctor *Bray*, Chaplain to the Archbishop, shall likewise, by order of the Lords, make his recantation for the licensing of those books in a sermon preached by him upon *Sunday* come three weeks in *St. Margaret's* Church, *Westminster*, there being three Bishops appointed as judges

[5] "*Ordered*, That Sir *Nath. Brent*, Sir *Jo. Lamb*, and Dr. *Roane*, be forthwith summoned, by a Warrant under Mr. Speaker's Hand, to appear here, to shew Reason why they laid the Tax upon the Town of *Waddesden* in the County of *Bucks*, contrary to Law, for the maintaining of a Payr of Organs, and an Organist in the said Town of *Waddesden*."—*Journals of the House of Commons.*

Sir John, however, did not appear when summoned, and was, on March 6, brought in for contempt.

to report to the house whether the said recantation be so full and satisfactory as it ought to be."[6]

On *Saturday*, the 11th of *April*, Doctor *Bray*, Chaplain to the Archbishop, made his recantation in St. *Margaret's*, in *Westminster*, after sermon in the morning, to an order of the Lords of Parliament for the suspending of two books of Doctor *Pocklington's*, the one entitled 'Altare Christianum,' the other, 'Sunday no Sabbath.' The said Doctor, after reading a paper sent from the Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*, containing the chief points contained in the said books, the which, he said, passed his hand by a careless overview of them, upon his good opinion of the author, whom he conceived to be a judicious, ancient, able divine, having been President of two houses in *Cambridge* before his coming from the University, and acknowledging the justice of their Lordships' order for the burning of them, and of his recantation in that place, with a serious protestation and confession of his own acknowledgement of the faith of the Church of *England*, and his own conformity thereunto, against the erroneous doctrine of the Church of *Rome*.[7]

### *Of Doctor* Uty.

On *Monday*, the 18th of *May*, "Mr. *Corbett* made a report of one Doctor *Uty* of divers misdemeanours . . . . . that have been proved against him at the

[6] From *Diurnall Occurrences*. See also *Rushworth*, part iii. vol. i. p. 207.

[7] From *Diurnall Occurrences*.

Committee, committed by him, not only before, but since, the sitting of this Parliament, saying that if the Bishop's command, he ought to obey, and that he might be as well damned for not obeying the Bishop's laws, as God's laws, terming the Parliament to be an assembly of factious persons for meddling with ecclesiastical affairs, whereupon the said Doctor was voted out of his living, with expectation of a heavier sentence. Also he made a report that he had nine hundred petitions against scandalous Ministers."[8]

Doctor *Uty's* Articles here followeth:

"To the Right Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the Commons House of Parliament.

"The humble petition of some of the parishioners in the parish of *Chigwell*, in the County of *Essex*, and divers others, humbly sheweth,

"That Doctor *Emmanuel Uty*, now Vicar of the parish church of *Chigwell* aforesaid, hath erected an Altar in the said Church, and doth use frequent and offensive bowing and cringing thereunto, compelling others to do the like, and hath kissed the Altar

[8] "*Die Lunæ*, 17° *Maii*, 1641.—Mr. Corbet reports the case of Dr. *Utie*.

"*Resolved*, upon the Question, That Dr. *Emanual Utie* is a Man of very scandalous and vicious Life; corrupt in his Doctrine; superstitious in his Practice; an Incendiary; guilty of the Words spoken against the King's supremacy; of Words tending to Blasphemy; of the Words spoken that are very scandalous, against the Parliament.

"*Resolved*, upon the Question: That Dr. *Emanual Utie* is unworthy to have and enjoy any Ecclesiastical Benefice, or Spiritual Promotion, or to have Cure of Souls."—*Journals of the House of Commons.*

three times in one day, and doth constantly read the prayers in the Divine service with his face toward the Altar, and back towards the people, so that many of them cannot hear what is said.

"That the said Vicar, openly in the pulpit of the said Church hath spoken these ensuing words, or words to the same effect, viz.:

"I. That his father's soul was in heaven, making intercession for his, and that it was lawful to pray unto saints, if the time would permit.

"II. That the commands of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (whom he hath compared unto the High Priest) were equally to be obeyed with God's command in His word.

"III. That the said Vicar hath said, that the King is not supreme Head of the Church next under Christ, and, being demanded who then was, he answered, the Bishop, and said further, that no Minister that understood himself, would pray for the King as supreme head of the Church under Christ, and that there hath been no true religion in England these forty years, and, being then told he was a friend to the Pope, answered, he loved the Pope with all his heart, and affirmeth that the Pope is not Antichrist, whosoever he is.

"IV. That the said Vicar hath declared that whatsoever any person (who had entered into holy orders) did speak, he spake by Divine Inspiration, and being urged that then they differed not from those who wrote the Holy Scripture, he made no answer to that, but imprudently and blasphemously

persisting in his former opinions, said further, that if the devil could have orders put upon him, whatsoever he should say should be by Divine Inspiration.

"v. That the said Vicar hath said, that if a man usually meet with occasions of drunkenness, or fornication, and be actually overcome by them, yet such a man doth not sin, because he sought not the occasion.

"vi. That the said Vicar hath been oftentimes seen drunk, and his wife hath reported that he was a papist in heart, and did wear a crucifix in his bosom, and kept one in his study, and that he so bitterly threatened her for not bowing to it, as she was constrained to cry out for help, and hide herself.

"vii. And lastly, the said Vicar hath said, the House of Parliament hath nothing to do in matters of Religion, but if any things were amiss, complaint ought to be made to the Bishops, and they were to reform it, and hath also uttered many other words tending to the dishonour of the High and Honourable Court of Parliament."

*The Petition, and Articles exhibited in Parliament against* John Pocklington, *Doctor in Divinity, Parson of Yelden, in Bedfordshire.*[9]

"i. He hath, within these few years in his Church of *Yelden*, turned the communion-table altar-wise.

[9] "7° *Januarii*, 164$\frac{0}{1}$.—Ordered, *Doctor Pocklington* to appear, and answer the exorbitancys of his booke."—*Notes taken by Sir Edward Dering as Chairman of the Sub-Committee of Religion, appointed Nov.* 23, 1640.—Proceedings in Kent. Camden Society.

"II. He bows to, or before, this altar very low, as often as either passeth by it, or makes his approach thereunto.

"III. He shews more outward reverence to the Altar, than to the name of God, for one time in the Church protesting before God and His holy Altar, when he made mention of the Altar, he turneth himself towards it, and made low obeisance before it, but, at the name of God, he sheweth no such respect.

"IV. He hath placed a cross [in a cloth] behind the Altar, called the Altar-cloth.

"V. He useth much to magnify the cross, and once in his sermon, speaking of *Moses* his prayer against *Amelek*, he said that *Moses* spread forth his arms in the form of a cross, that that posture of his was more available with God than his prayer.

"VI. He hath caused a bell to be hung up in his chancel, called a Sacring bell,[10] which the clerk always rings at the going up to the second service, which he performs with variety of postures, sometimes turning towards the South, sometimes towards the East, and sometimes towards the West.

"VII. He hath caused two cloths to be made, which he calls corporals, and these he useth to lay

[10] A bell which rang for processions, and other ceremonies, of the Romish church.

"I'll startle you, worse than the sacring-bell."—*Henry VIII.*, iii. 2.

"A sakryng bell of sylver" appears in the "Inventory of the Goodes belongyng to the Kynge's Grace by the forfettoure of the Lady Hungerford, ateynted of murder in Hillary Terme, Anno xiiij Regis Henrici viij," reprinted in the *Archæologica*, vol. xxxviii. p. 353.

over the bread in the Sacrament, and each of these hath fine crosses on it, one at each corner, and one in the middle.

"VIII. He refuseth to give the Sacrament on Easter day 1638 to 12 or 14 of his parishioners, though they had acquainted him before that they intended to receive on that day, according to their usual custom; and though at the time of the administration of the Sacrament even from the beginning thereof to the end, they kneeled at the rails, yet he still passed them by, and sent them away without it, to their great reproach and discomfort, having no just cause so to do.

"IX. He hath also composed and published two books or pamphlets, the one intituled, 'Sunday no Sabbath;' the other, 'Altare Christianum,' wherein he justifies and defends all those innovations in religion, that have been unhappily introduced into this church which also he practises himself, and besides, in those books he asserts and maintains divers wicked, popish, and antichristian points, to the great danger and damage of this church and state, justifies sundry popish canonized saints for true Saints and Martyrs of God, and censures our own English Martyrs for traitors, murderers, rebels, and Heretics.

"X. He affirms and maintains the dedication and consecration of church by prayers; and that (as he saith) from the doctrine and decrees of popes of the first and best times, and confirmed by the doctrine and practice of the Holy Catholic Church; and

he censures the Centurists, for bold and impious, because they condemn and brand such kind of popish consecration of wood and stones for the mystery of iniquity.

"He teaches and affirms that the distinction of places in the churches is very ancient, and observed even from the Apostles' times; and that several places in the church were appointed for the Clergy, and for the Laity, and these several places and several degrees for holiness. Auditorium was the place for the laity, and that was less holy; but presbyterium was the place for the clergy, and this was more holy; and in the holy place, namely, the chancel or presbytery, there was a Throne or Chair there placed. But he bethinks himself and saith, that this chair was not in all churches, but only in the churches of Bishops, and that such a Chair was in the Church of *Jerusalem* and *Rome*, and then after affirms that the Succession of Bishops in such a Chair was one thing that kept St. *Augustine* from departing out of the bosom of the Catholic Church; for he brings him in saying thus, 'The succession of priests from St. Peter, keeps me of right in the church; the name of the Catholic sees (that is of *Rome*) keeps me in.'"[11]

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On *Wednesday* the 27th of *January*, "there was a petition brought in against one Mr. *Taylor*, that should say, if one sermon in a day would not serve

[11] *Alt. Chr.* p. 47; imprinted in London, 1641.

them, let them go to the devil for another; and that puritans were all knaves, and papists honest men." [12]

On Saturday following, divers petitions was read in the house of Commons, amongst which was our petition. A Minister . . . . taught in the pulpit we ought to learn to dance, for if we could not dance we were damned.

The same day there was also a petition against a Minister in *Kent*, who taught that there was no salvation but by Bishops, and that they were the head of the Church; the days of Queen *Mary* were better than the days of Queen *Elizabeth*, for Queen *Mary* set up good laws, and Queen *Elizabeth* pulled them down.

On *Wednesday*, the 17th [16th] of *February*, "there was divers petitions and informations brought into the house against scandalous Ministers. A petition from *Wales*, that there was but thirteen constant preaching Ministers in all *Wales*. Likewise of a Minister [13] that said the Commissaries [Courts] were the suburbs of heaven, and the high Commissioners the Archangels, and that to preach twice a day, or to say other prayers than the Common Prayers was a damnable sin." [14] And a petition against Mr. *Squire*, Minister of *Shoreditch* in *London*; his Articles here followeth.

[12] From *Diurnall Occurrences.*

[13] James Bradshaw, Vicar of Chalfont St. Peter's, Bucks.

[14] From *Diurnall Occurrences.*

*Articles exhibited in Parliament against Mr.* JOHN SQUIRE, *Vicar of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, February the* 17th, 1641.

"I. That this *Squire* did arrogantly introduce many popish ceremonies into their parish church, tyrannically insulting over the consciences and liberties of the parishioners, commanding them to subscribe thereunto without any interdiction.

"II. That he affirmed publicly in the pulpit, that the Papists were the king's best subjects in three regards. First, in regard of their liberality, who were always ready to extend their charity, and did present themselves with their purses in their hands always before his Majesty. Secondly, in regard to their loyalty, who did not only seem hospitable in their purses, but were always in their own persons ready to do his Majesty service. Thirdly, in regard of their patience, who (notwithstanding the many affronts and persecutions offered them by Englishmen) have patiently submitted to their cruelty, and buried all in oblivion; wherefore upon the consideration of these three regards, he was confident (as he related) that they were the king's best subjects.

"III. That he called all those schismatics, who would not bow at the name of Jesus; but being afterwards privately examined upon that point, he could not lawfully call those schismatics which did not, unless those idolators which did.

"IV. That he writes himself commonly priest, and approves of it to be an honourable name, and

despised the denomination of Minister, or pastor; and although we have had sufficient testimony that this name was abrogated after Christ's coming, and more decent names given them in the holy Gospel.

"v. That our king was like the wounded man that fell among thieves (the *Scots* by his imaginary supposition) robbing his Majesty of his castles, holds, and, withall, the hearts of his subjects; and that the former confessor was like unto the Levite that passed by; the Protestant like unto the priest: but the Papist like unto the good Samaritan, who lifted up his Majesty from those wicked enemies to our nation, and by their hospitable benignity were very indulgent to his Majesty.

"vi. That it was a sin for any man to hear voluntarily any other Minister than his own: only three causes excepted, (1) Either going to the christening of a child; (2) or to an offering; (3) or unless he be invited forth to dinner.

"vii. That any man which passed excommunication from the priest publicly in the church, unless reconciled before his death, went directly to hell in his judgment.

"viii. That it was lawful for any man to play and take any recreation on the Sabbath day, if so be it were not service time.

"ix. That he did alter the ancient structure of the said parish church, and withal did insolently induce many pictures therein, against the will, intent, and subscription of any of the people, and such images as he pleaseth without prohibition.

"x. That he alloweth the picture of the Virgin *Mary*, of CHRIST, and His Apostles at His last Supper, in glass, and the parishioners desired rather that in their stead a crucifix might be erected, but he would not condescend thereunto.

"xi. That he was persuaded those had safe conscience, who would not bow with all humility and great reference to the Communion Table, both at their entrance into the church, and at their departure thereout.

"xii. That he would not administer the holy Sacrament to those which would not come up unto the rails and bow thereunto with humble adoration: whereupon most of the parishioners for conscience sake have omitted the receiving of the Sacrament.

"xiii. That he did oftentimes exasperate and foment strife and enmity betwixt neighbour and neighbour, and those who would not subscribe to his ceremonial innovations, he was their perfect enemy, until many of them had been compelled to leave the parish, to the great detriment of their trades.

"xiv. That he affirmed publicly in his pulpit that it was a damnable sin for any man to deprave or speak against any of those Canons which were published by superior authority.

"xv. That if the king should demand either the lands, houses, possessions, and whole estate, nay the very life itself, of any subject, without any offence by him committed, unless he did voluntarily attribute and surrender it unto him, that he committed a most abominable sin of damnation.

"XVI. That he have brought many of his parishioners into the Court, and thereby great troubles have been incident to many, and to some excommunication; only because they would not subscribe to these ceremonies; and withal that he have caused great sedition and discord in the said parish.

"XVII. That in all these popish observations and ecclesiastical ceremonies he have been no less offensive than *Canterbury* himself, in some respects a man prompt for exalting that Roman religion. And, to incur the favour of many bishops he have been extreme diligent to execute all their canons and ceremonies to the full extent.

"This day the said Minister was deprived of the benefice, and degraded from the ministry, and so left with the expectation of a heavier sentence."

"The same day another Minister being asked how he could maintain by Scripture the turning of the Communion table altar-wise, said the times were turned, and it was fit the Communion table should be turned also."[15]

On *Saturday*, the 13th [12th] of *March*, "the House received the report of the Committee for religion. And there was then a report made of a Minister who said,

"I. That Ministers had power to forgive sins, and urged confession of his parishioners.

"II. That water washeth away original sin.

"III. That for a man to say prayer in his house

[15] From *Diurnall Occurrences*. See also Appendix, Note I I.

it were a question whether God would hear him; but in the church, God was bound to hear him.

"IV. That Christmas day was greater than the Sabbath, and he refused to give the Sacrament.

"The said Minister was this day voted out of his living, and disabled of the Ministry."[16]

"To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons. The humble petition of the parishioners of the parish of *Isleworth*, in the county of *Middlesex*, sheweth,

"That the parish of *Isleworth* aforesaid is very populous, and full of gentry and citizens, and hath for these forty years last past had several lecturers there maintained at their own charge. And of late, one Master *William Jemmett*, Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Northumberland*, a learned divine, and approved life and conversation, who hath been for these fourteen years licensed by the Chancellor for our lecturer, and accepted for such by reverend learned doctors, prebends of *Windsor*, successively vicars of *Isleworth* aforesaid, until of late one Master *William Grant*, Chaplain to the Bishop of *Gloucester*, by the procurement of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, is become the vicar there, who hath put out the said Master *Jemmett*, and in his place employed one Master *Bifield*, a man of a very scandalous life, to be lecturer there, until he heard the parishioners there were preferring a petition to the Parliament against them both, the

[16] From *Diurnall Occurrences*.

said Master *Grant* being also a man erroneous in opinion, scandalous in life, an enactor of undue fees, wholly unfit for that sacred function, as will appear in the following particulars, here humbly offered to your grave consideration, all which your petitioners are ready to make good.[17]

"I. First, that Master *Grant*, since the fast day in *July* last, put out the said Master *Jemmett* from being lecturer, though himself confesseth that he hath nothing against his life and conversation, but that he did it that he might root out all Puritans there, notwithstanding that the same Master *Jemmett* hath many small children, most of them bred in the same parish.

"II. That Master *Grant* did promise Master *Barrell*, being Churchwarden (in the word of a priest) that, if the said Master *Barrell* would promise to pay him ten pounds a year, which accordingly was done, then the said Master *Jemmett* should be received again to be Lecturer, . . . yet nevertheless he put him out, as aforesaid, within six or eight weeks after that promise. . . . .

"III. That Master *Grant* putteth holiness in places, and therefore threatened to present the said Mr. *Barrell*, being Churchwarden, for coming once within the rail about the Communion table, for to receive the money which was collected at the Sacrament, and to put it into the poor-box, saying, none must come there but the priest, for that was holy ground.

[17] "William Grant, who was sequestered by the Puritans, was reinstated at the Restoration."—See Petition of the Inhabitants against him, 1641. Lyson's *Environs of London*. Appendix, Note JJ.

"IV. That the said Mr. *Grant* boweth to the Table when he goeth to it to say his second service, and at all other times, as often as he goeth by it, and also when the word Jesus is named, though his face be towards the West, when his curate names the word, yet he then turns to the Table, or to the East, and boweth himself.

"V. That, being desired by the Churchwardens to forbear reading the second service at the Communion Table, he answered he would not do it to please the Puritans, and that he dares not do otherwise, for, if it should be told the Archbishop, all the friends he had should not be able to persuade the said Archbishop but that he was a favourer of the Puritans.

"VI. That he hath affirmed that the marrying of the clergy is the undoing of the clergy.

"VII. That he hath said that it will never be well with the Church of *England* until confession be set up in it.

"VIII. That he hath spoken against the doctrines of predestination.

"IX. That he hath affirmed that pictures are laymen's books, and that it is lawful to have them in Churches and Chapels, and hath desired the Churchwarden to set up the picture of a saint in the Chapel, and that he carrieth to church with him a Testament full of crucifixes and pictures.

"X. That he hath affirmed that he had rather hear an organ (ten to one) in the Church than singing of Psalms, which scoffingly he called *Hopkins his Jigs*, and commanded the clerk not to read

them in the Church, so that the unlearned could not sing, and further threatened to present the Churchwarden if he would not present one who on *Sunday* read the Psalm to one that stood by him.

"XI. That he useth very unbecoming speeches in his sermons, as speaking of some Popish tenets he said, Marry as good luck is, we have the Scripture against them; and at another time of the devil's temptations, Marry as good luck was, God was stronger than the devil.

"XII. That he calleth the 'Book of Martyrs' a book of lies.

"XIII. That he said that all good fellowship was laid aside in the parish, but he will bring it in again, and maintain it, and would have wine and tobacco for all that would come to his vicarage house on *Sundays* after prayers, and he doth make it good harbouring there at such times, the deboist sort tippling.

"XIV. That he hath said that the *Sabbath* day was no more than another day, and that Christmas day is a higher day than the *Sabbath* day, and that it is a greater day than all the *Sabbaths* in the year. And he also maintains the 'Book of Sports.'

"XV. That he will not suffer any to pray for the sick in the pulpit, but useth the prayer appointed for visiting the sick.

"XVI. That he is an ordinary gamester at cards, sitting up till two or three o'clock in the morning.

"XVII. That when one preaching there reproved soul-murdering ministers, the said Mr. *Grant* said that if he had been as near the pulpit as the Bishop

of *Lincoln* was to Doctor *Heylin*, he would have pulled him out of the pulpit.

"XVIII. That we shall have no lecture if we will not take such a man as he will put in; and that if we will not be so contented, we shall be contented with one sermon in a month, that he will preach.

"XIX. That he takes away part of the clerk's wages, and gives it to a boy that rubs his horse's heels.

"XX. That he exacts money for attendance upon funerals, and other undue fees, four or five times as much as hath been within these seven years, challenging and taking by force money which is due to the Churchwardens for the time being, for burials in the Church and Church-porch.

"XXI. That he receiveth the money collected at the Sacrament, and saith that it is money offered, and therefore doth belong to him, being priest there."

"*The Petition and Articles, or several charges exhibited in Parliament against* EDWARD FINCH, *Vicar of Christ Church, in London, and brother to Sir* JOHN FINCH, *late Lord Keeper, now a fugitive for fear of this present Parliament*, 1641.[18]

"To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the Commons House of Parliament.

"The humble petition of the parishioners of the

[18] Copied from a quarto pamphlet, "Petition and Articles on severall Charges exhibited in *Parliament* against *Edward Finch*, Vicar of *Christ Church* in *London*, and brother to Sir *John Finch*, late *Lord Keeper*, now a Fugitive, for fear of this present *Parliament*, 1641, London. Sould by *R. Harford*, at the Signe of the *Bible* in *Queenshead Alley* in *Paternoster Row*." 1641. See also Appendix, Note BB.

parish of *Christ Church*, in *London*, most humbly sheweth,

"That Master *Edward Finch*, Vicar of the said parish, having set up their Communion Table altar-wise, doth there administer the Sacrament, causing all the communicants to come to the rails, or forms, and useth frequent and unreasonable bowings before the said table in his approach unto it, and return from it. That he is of evil and scandalous life and conversation, not regarding himself to instruct the petitioners' souls, and hindering them also of such helps as therein they would otherwise have, and exacts of them unlawful and unreasonable fees, and sums of money as by the annexed Articles may appear. That the petitioners are troubled in the said Church with singing organs, and other instruments of music not understood by them, whereby they are greatly distracted in the service of God, the same being altogether unprofitable, and no way tending to their spiritual edification.

"They most humbly pray that your Honours will be pleased to take the premises into your grave consideration, and to grant unto them such relief therein as to your great wisdom shall seem meet. And they shall deeply pray," &c.

The Articles mentioned in the annexed petition against Mr. *Edward Finch*, Vicar of Christ Church, in London:—

"1. First, that the said Mr. *Finch* is very officious and observant in worshipping the great idol lately erected in the said Church on the altar.

"II. That he exacteth sometimes twenty shillings a piece, and many times more, for funeral sermons, himself seldom preaching any of them, and affirmeth his pulpit to be his shop, and therefore must improve it to the utmost.

"III. That he is very careless and negligent in executing his pastoral duty, having appeared scarce twice in twelve months to officiate at the same, nay, not once in a year.

"IV. That he ordinarily preached in his surplice.

"V. That he also weareth his surplice in going the perambulation of the parish.

"VI. That he hath not for many years been resident in the parish, but lets to farm his vicarage house.

"VII. That he maketh no conscience of oaths, but is a frequent violator of God's holy name by often swearing thereby, with fearful and horrid imprecations and execrations, as was abundantly proved.

"VIII. That he is a common haunter of Taverns and Ale-houses, and is often and openly drunk.

"IX. That he hath exacted excessive fees, as ten shillings for a christening.

"X. That before he will perform his duty in burials, and upon other occasions, he will have his lawless and unconscionable demands satisfied, whereof some of the petitioners have complained to the Diocesan, but it seems his correction was gentle, for no amendment hath followed.

"XI. That he hath demanded and taken for burials of parishioners ten and twelve pounds apiece, and

shut, or caused to be shut up, the Church doors, and not suffered the ground to be broken for parishioners, until his undue exactions have been satisfied.

"XII. That he hath administered the Communion to a dying woman, when he was so drunk that he forgot the service, failed in rehearsing the Lord's Prayer, and at his departure, was not able to return to his place of abode without leading.

"XIII. That at the same time he caused all present with the said woman to depart the room, and then enjoined the sick party to confess unto him all her secret sins.

"XIV. That, being so alone with the said woman, he demeaned himself so uncivilly . . . that she was fain to cry out for her husband to come in.

"XV. That afterwards, for performance of this good service about the said woman, he sent for a fee of three shillings fourpence.

"XVI. That *November* the 5th, 1639, he would suffer no sermon to be preached, unless out of the collection for the poor he might have a fee of thirteen shillings fourpence, but, finding the collection to be small, he took ten shillings.

"XVII. That this last *November* 5th, 1640, he would neither preach himself, nor suffer any other to preach.

"XVIII. . . . . .

"XIX. That he hath, since his being vicar of the said parish, much opposed the lecture, which, without intermission, hath for many years been continued in the west end of the said Church, called

the old, or lower, Church,[19] early in the morning on the Lord's day, not suffering any one to preach the same, unless he, the vicar, might have extraordinary hire for permitting of it, viz., about forty pounds at one time, and twenty pounds at another time, and divers other sums at other several times, and, at this present, twenty pounds a year. And yet, not contented therewith, he threatens to arrest the present lecturer, unless he may have his unjust demands satisfied.

"xx. That he detaineth and keepeth away divers books belonging and appertaining to the said Church.

"xxi. That many times, in receiving his own exacted fees for burials, he hath also received duties due to the Churchwardens for the use of the poor of the said parish, and detained them to his own use."

The proofs of such of the aforesaid Articles as were more fully and largely proved in Parliament by several witnesses followeth here.

To the first article, concerning his frequent and most lowly bowing to his Idol Altar (set up by himself, and with his own hands, in a most proud and insolent manner) both at his approaches to it,

[19] 1605, *Sept.* 24.—It is ordered that all the windows in the upper part of Christ Church shall be coloured glass, excepting the two lower panes, and excepting also the three windows at the East end; and that all the *personages* that are in the same windows shall be set up again; and, for the better furnishing the said personages in the upper church (if any should be wanting), it is also ordered that the same shall be taken out of *the lower church*."—From the Church-books, quoted in Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivium*, vol. iii. p. 335. London, 1803. "*Christchurch.*—Roger Harrey, Citizen and Fishmonger of London, left 20*s.* by his Will, dated 1688, for a Sermon in the *Lower Church* every Sunday Morning."—Seymour's *Survey*.

departure from it, and passing by it, there was proof much more than enough to testify and clear it.

To the article of his exacting unjust and excessive fees for Burials, it was proved that he at one time exacted, would have, and had beforehand, five pounds for a Sermon at the funeral of a Mr. *How*, an ancient parishioner, but Mr. *Finch* hearing that there were gloves given to divers, sent presently for gloves for himself and his man, just about the time that the corpse was going to Church; but because there was none left, he was promised to have them the next morning; yet, notwithstanding, because he had them not at present, he caused the church doors to be shut up, made the corpse and people stand a great while in the streets, at last letting them into the church, yet disappointed them of their sermon, and yet kept the five pounds to himself, without restitution of any part thereof.

It was further testified by another parishioner, who was made executor to one Mr. *Darneton*, a young man in the parish, who upon his death-bed desired that Doctor *Holdsworth*[20] should make his funeral sermon, and, to avoid all differences, the

[20] Dr. Holdsworth was Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and tutor to Sir Symonds d'Ewes. He became successively Prebendary of Lincoln, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, Master of Emmanuel College, President of Sion College, and Professor of Gresham College. When he was Vice-Chancellor, he raised money for the King in the University. He was subsequently imprisoned, during which time he was elected Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. His resolute adherence to the Royal cause occasioned him a second imprisonment, from which he was released in time to take part in the Isle of Wight Treaty. He died in August 1649. See *Proceedings in Kent*, Camden Society, p. 52, note.

deceased very frankly gave Mr. *Finch* a legacy of forty shillings, and a mourning gown, conditionally that he would give way for Doctor *Holdsworth* to preach; but Mr. *Finch*, not content with what the deceased left him in his will, he afterward understanding that the Doctor had five pounds and a mourning gown left him as a legacy, and his legacy was not so much, he again sends for the executor, and demands of him what he would give him to let *Holdsworth* preach; as for the forty shillings legacy, that he should not hinder him of, but now he came upon new terms, to know what he would give him; for he saw no reason but he should have as much to give way as the other for preaching, for the pulpit was his. So that he did enforce the executor to keep the corpse from *Monday* till *Saturday*, before it could be buried, by reason of Mr. *Finch* (saying) as was then testified, that the pulpit was his shop, whereby he got his living, and that he must improve his shop to the utmost advantage, as well as they did theirs; and further saying, that no *Holdsworth* should come in his pulpit, to eat the bread out of his mouth, for that was *Holdsworth* more than he. So that, in conclusion, he did cause the said executor to disburse, to give him satisfaction, to the value of thirteen pounds, five shillings, sixpence, most of it in money, and the rest in linen cloth; and notwithstanding, the said Mr. *Finch* performed no office at the funeral himself, but spent his time in the tavern, at the same time, when the funeral was performed; and this was proved to be

his usual manner, to get his first demands fully into his own hands, and then by one trick or another, to come over them again for a new supply, or else there should be no ground broke, nor church doors opened. These instances were enough, and thought sufficient for the proof of this charge, though the parishioners had divers more notorious pranks of his of this kind, and were then and there ready prepared with witnesses to have testified them all.

To the Articles concerning his superstitious affections to the surplice and other popish practices, it was testified that he usually preached in his surplice, wore it when he went about the parish in the annual perambulations through the streets, and was so popishly affected and addicted to it, that ever since his lying under the just condemnation of these things, he refused on last *Ascension* Day, 1641, to accompany the parishioners in their perambulation, because they would not suffer him to wear the surplice, and read the Epistles and Gospels at the stinted[21] places and corners of the streets as formerly; and that he never read or pronounced the name Jesus in either of the Sacraments, Epistles or Gospels, or in sermons or prayers (though on his knees), but he most constantly ducked lowly at it. And in his canonical prayer before his Homilies (for all his preaching was continually a mere reading out of a written book) he familiarly used to praise God for the Saints departed, but especially for the Virgin *Mary*, the Mother of God. As for the

[21] *i. e.* places appointed for stopping. "Stinte, to stop."—*Halliwell.*

article touching his drunkenness, besides his accustomed practice of that beastly sin, at other ordinary times, it was testified by very good witness, that [he] hath seen him drunk on the Lord's day, and at another time twice drunk in one and the same Lord's day, first in the morning, and then laid to sleep, and drunk again before night. Also another parishioner being employed to take order for the burial of a friend of his in the said parish, for which Mr. *Finch* (as his custom was) would have his money beforehand, which he accordingly received, being three pound thirteen shillings, upon the payment whereof the said parishioner demanded an acquittance; but Mr. *Finch* and his man were so drunk that they could not write, so that the party was fain to call witness that it was paid, and very needful too, for the next day Mr. *Finch* sent his man to demand the same money again, who answered he had paid it already the day before, and would not pay it twice. Some few days after, the Churchwardens came to the parishioner for the duties which Mr. *Finch* had received in the former sum, but Mr. *Finch* would not pay them any. It was further also testified, to full satisfaction of the Parliament, that he was so drunk when he was fetched from a tavern to give the Sacrament to a dying woman, that he was fain to be led by the arm to the house; that there he was not able to pronounce the Lord's Prayer, but was out twice or thrice in saying it; that he was not able to rise off from his knees without help, nor, being up, to sit down; that he de-

livered the elements without consecration. . . . . [She] therefore desired that the Sacrament might be given her again by some other Minister; but she died before it was effected, and Master *Finch* was fain to be led to the next ale-house, as he desired, where he lay all that night, and the next morning this wretched man was so shameless as to send for a fee of three shillings fourpence for that, his most wicked and abominable service.

As for his sermon on *November* 5th, the popish powder plot, it was testified also that one year he would permit no sermon at all. Another year, he would permit none, unless he might have a share of thirteen shillings fourpence out of the collection for the poor which, being but small, he took ten shillings for his own use. Another year he preached himself, and in his sermon said words to this effect, that the plotters in that business were but a few malcontent persons, and that they desired at their death that this act might be forgotten, and he thanked God it was so almost, and he hoped it would be quite forgotten.

It was also testified that for the sermons at seven of the clock on Sabbath day morning he had of the parish forty pounds to let Mr. *Davis* come in, and above fifty pounds when Master *Brockett* came in, besides other sums at other times. These, and many more such like foul and scandalous things have been most plenteously proved against the said Mr. *Finch*, and after all, it being demanded what answer he could make for all these things, he

desired some time to make answer, and to plead by counsel, but it was replied that these things were matters of fact, and not of law, and therefore he knew at present whether these things were true, or no; but, being silent, command was to withdraw, some other witnesses were heard also, which spake to the same effect, which, for brevity sake, we omit. For, if we should present you with all his extorted exactions for burials and baptizings, and other particular enormities of his life, it would fill a volume, for almost every one he had to deal with in these kinds in the parish hath experience what a heavy burden he hath been to the parish.

The whole Grand Committee for religion receiving abundant satisfaction in the truth hereof, and all the rest of the Articles fore-mentioned, accordingly proceeded to an unanimous vote of his graceless and palpable guilt in them all, and he now lies under the just censure of the House.[22] Yet (strange to be spoken) this most impious and impudent man, like a right atheistical son of *Belial*, puts on a

[22] "*Die Sabbati*, 8° *Maii*, 1641.—Mr. *White* reports, from the Grand Committee for Religion, the Case of Mr. *Edward Finch*, Vicar of *Christchurch, London*.

"*Resolved*, upon the Question, That the said Mr. *Edward Finch* is guilty of practising Innovations in the Church, Non-residence, foul Extortions, Neglect of the Duty of his Function, and Prophaning of the Sacraments; a Man of Prophane Life, scandalous in his Doctrine and Conversation, and a Hinderer of Preaching.

"*Resolved*, upon the Question, That the said *Edward Finch* is a Man unfit to hold any Benefice or Promotion in the Church.

"*Resolved*, that Mr. *White* shall speedily prepare the Transmission of this Case to the Lords, to the end that the parish of *Christ Church* may the sooner be eased of him."—*Journals of the House of Commons*.

whore's forehead to this day, carries himself most proudly and insolently, as ever before, amongst the parishioners, officiates, when he lists, in his own shameless person, being still very vexatious to them, yea, committing many of the aforesaid condemned superstitious, wicked, and drunken practices afresh, without any blushing, or the least sign of relenting. Like his brazen-faced mother of *Rome*, carries about with him un unblushing whore's forehead, and jets[23] up and down with strange arrogancy. And, indeed, his most unbridled pride hath principally occasioned the publication of these his so foul and enormous carriages.

*April* the 18th Mr. *Corbett* made a report that he had nine hundred petitions against scandalous Ministers. If so many then, how many more there might be now, *Sept.* the 13th. So that one might fill volumes with these unclean beasts that ascend out of this bottomless pit of the see of *Rome*. For, on *Thursday*, the 3rd of *December*, [1640] "the Committee for religion acquainted the House that mass had been publicly of late said, not only in the city, but in the university of *Oxford*, and that there

[23] "*To jet.*—To strut or walk proudly; to throw the body about in walking. *Jetter*, French.

"O peace! Contemplation makes a rare turkey-cock of him; how he *jets* under his advanc'd plumes!—*Twelfth Night*, ii. 5.

"Not Pelop's shoulder, whiter than her hands,
Nor snowie swans that *jet* on Isca's sands.
"Browne, *Br. Poet.* II. iii. p. 92.

"Of those that prank it with their plumes,
And *jet* it with their choice perfumes.
"Herrick's *Noble Numbers*, p. 44."

—Nares' *Glossary*, Halliwell and Wright's edition, London, 1857.

were nineteen Earls and Lords of the Romish religion, with other abuses and practices in religion, which is also referred to a Committee."[24]

On *Tuesday*, the 2nd of *February*, "there was read in the house a petition how that at a place in the west parts they spent two days in the dedication of an altar cushion and pulpit cloth, with sermons, and other very strange innovations."[25]

*July* the 30th, 1642, there was information given at the bar in the House of Commons against one Mr. *Symonds*,[26] a Minister, for preaching that we are bound to do all that his Majesty commands, and believe all that his Majesty saith, and other like words.

Also, information given against one Mr. *Barrell*, a Minister, for speaking divers words against the Scots and the Parliament, whereupon it was ordered that they should be both sent for as delinquents.

August the 16th "one *Baxter* was brought to the House for speaking very dangerous words to this effect, *That he hoped to see the Roundheads tumbling in their blood, when some of their money should chink in his pockets, and that the king was coming with many thousand Cavaliers that would make London streets run with blood.*"[27]

[24] From *Diurnall Occurrences.* [25] Ibid.

[26] "Edward Symonds, M.A., rector of Rayne, in the time of King Charles the First, was a person of considerable celebrity, and author of various publications; among which are 'Hermes Theologus,' a 'New Descant upon Old Records,' a 'Vindication of King Charles the First,' &c., and various political and theological works."—Wright's *History of Essex.* [27] From *A Perfect Diurnall*, No. 13.

August the 19th one Mr. *Barrell,*[28] a Minister in *Kent,* was brought up to the House of Commons for preaching a seditious sermon at the Assizes at *Maidstone,* before Judge *Mallett,* incensing the country against the proceedings of Parliament, urging them to lend all supplies to His Majesty, whereupon he was committed to the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms.

About this time report was made to the House that five hundred pound, and some plate, and five muskets were found in Dr. *Fuller's* house, the parson of *Giles, Cripplegate,* which was intended to be sent to His Majesty, and it was carried to *Guildhall.*

"This day [Friday, August 19, 1642] letters came to the House from *Chichester,* intimating that the town stands in a good posture of defence,"[29] although some ill-affected persons had plotted to betray the town, and some Ministers had made seditious sermons, saying that the irreverent clergy had preached down the Bishops, and the reverend tradesmen had preached down the clergy.

*September* the 29th.—"There was one Mr. *Nicholson,*[30] a Minister in *Essex,* and his two sons, one of them a Minister, and the other a Civil Lawyer, were brought before the House of Commons for preaching

[28] Robert Barrell, Perpetual Curate of Maidstone. In the following May the Inhabitants presented a Petition against him to the House of Commons, charging him with neglect, innovations, and interference.—P. 431. See *Proceedings in Kent,* 1862; Camden Society.

[29] From *A Perfect Diurnall,* No. 13.

[30] Richard Nicholson, "Parson" of the Parish Church of Stapleford Tawny.

and speaking divers dangerous and invective speeches against the Parliament, and incensing the country against the proceedings of the Parliament, saying that all the devils in hell could not have done so much mischief as the Parliament hath done, and that such as have lent them any monies deserve to be hanged for it, and divers others invective speeches, whereupon it was ordered that they should be all of them committed to several prisons, and that there should be an impeachment drawn up against them.

"There was also one Mr. *Jackson*, a minister, brought before the House, and committed to prison for saying that the laws ought to be made as the King pleaseth, and not as a company of factious fellows, such as the Parliament are."[31]

*October* the 14th, there was a complaint made against a Minister in *Wiltshire*, that during one whole year the said Minister hath not preached to his parishioners, notwithstanding he is both a cruel, and hard, and contentious man amongst them, still exacting of more tithes than is due. He will compel his parishioners to pay their tithes in kind, notwithstanding his yearly revenues, which amounteth to four hundred pounds, or thereabouts.

*October* the 24th.—Mr. *Griffith*, a Minister, parson of *Mary Magdalene*, Old *Fish* Street, *London*, having been a long time very malignant against the Parliament, and preached of late divers seditious sermons full of invective and bitter language against the Parliament, was this day committed to prison.[32]

[31] See *Perfect Diurnall*, No. 17. [32] Ibid.

*November* the 9th.—Information was given to the Parliament by letters from *Canterbury*, that Dr. *Peate* lately preached a very seditious and scandalous sermon there against the Parliament, saying that there was a conspiracy against the person of the King, and that all who contribute to the propositions of the Parliament were of the conspiracy, and other scandalous speeches, whereupon it was ordered that he should be sent for as a delinquent.

*June* the 8th, 1643.—A true abstract of *Robert Barrell*, curate of *Maidstone*, in *Kent*, under the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was found to be a common frequenter of taverns, inns, and ale-houses, and to be a frequent, ordinary, and common drunkard, to the great scandal and shame of the Ministry, which disorderly course of life he hath used for the space of many years last past, and that he did, a year and a quarter since, wish that God would put it into the heart of the King to set the city of *London* on fire, to burn up the Puritans. For which scandalous life the lords in Parliament did cast him out of his curateship as a man unworthy the place.

But to proceed no further to rake in this hellish dunghill of filthy, beastly, Babylonish priests, which were kept and nosiled[33] under those vile Bishops. You may see of them more at large in Mr. *White's* book of Scandalous, Malignant Priests, which are as so many locusts that did ascend out of the bottom-

[33] "Nosil; to encourage or embolden an animal to fight; to set on." —*Halliwell.*

less pit, spoken of in the ninth chapter of the *Revelation*.

And in this Mr. *White's* book (which I have by me, it came forth *November* the 17th, 1643) you may see A Narration of the causes for which the Parliament hath ordered the sequestration of the Benefices of several Ministers (of Satan, with their hellish divinity) complained of before them, for viciousness of life, errors in doctrine contrary to the Articles of our Religion, and for practising and pressing superstitious innovations against law, and for malignancy against the Parliament.[34]

As we were in great misery in regard of the Church, so we were in great misery in regard of our corrupted judges. For, oh, how many poor widows and fatherless children have been undone by corrupt judges. As also Projectors with their letters patent for all staple commodities, as also ship-money, and new Corporations, even to the undoing of many thousands, but I will give you but a little taste or touch of these. As first you may see some of our misery by the complaints put up against our judges.

As, on *Thursday*, the 3rd of *December*, 1640, in the Upper House apetition by one Mr. *Freeman*, setting forth he had been denied justice by the Lord *Bramston*, Justice *Jones*, and Judge *Berckley* in the King's Bench, and showed wherein; and the Lord *Say* stood up and affirmed he had been used in like kind by the same men." [35]

[34] See Appendix, Note GG.

[35] From *Diurnall Occurrences*.

On *Friday*, the 12th [11th] of *February*, 1641, "there was report made by the Committee for the Judges, that some of them were more faulty than others, as, namely, Judge *Berckley*, who said in his circuits at the Assizes that ship-money was inseparable from the crown, and that the judgement of the Judges were more than an Act of Parliament.[36] He was also very violent in suppressing of soap-boilers, and committed a jury at *Hertford* for presenting the Communion table.

"This day the Commons sent a message to the Lords against Judge *Berckley*, and accused him of high treason, and the gentleman usher of the Black Rod was sent by the Lords to the Courts of the King's Bench, where he took him off the seat,[37] sitting between two Judges." [38]

On Tuesday, the 6th of July, 1641, in the morning, "the charge against Judge *Bramston*, Baron *Trevor*, and Baron *Davenport*, and Judge *Crawley* being read in the house of Commons, there were four members appointed to present it to the Lords, all of them severally making large speeches, in aggravation of their crimes." [39]

On *Monday*, the 7th of *December*, [1640] "the Lord *Falkland* made a bitter speech in the House

[36] See *Rushworth*, part iii. vol. i. p. 318.

[37] "The manner of his arrest was so conducted as to produce a considerable impression. He was taken from off the bench by the usher of the black rod, to the great terror of his brethren then sitting in Westminster Hall, and of all his profession."—Godwin's *History of the Commonwealth of England*.

[38] From *Diurnall Occurrences*.

[39] Ibid.

of Commons against the Lord Keeper, using these words, that, as there was a *Judas* amongst the Apostles, so there was a *Judas* amongst the Judges,[40] and stopped a little, and then went on, "I marvel none of you will call upon me to name him, you shall not need, it is the wicked Lord Keeper, who, if the opinions of good men in this House, which they have delivered by law, be true, is as guilty of high treason as the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*."

On *Monday*, the 21st of *December*, "the Lord Keeper made a speech in the House of Commons, hoping to clear himself, standing upon his feet all the while he spake, but after he was heard, and gone, he was voted by all the House, except seven or eight, to be a traitor in these few particulars:—

"I. In refusing to speak when he was desired in the Parliament 4^to^ *Caroli* to read the Remonstrances against traitors and *Weston*, and for being a cause [with others] to dissolve that Parliament.

"II. In the opinion, in soliciting, persuading, and threatening the Judges in the ship-money.

"III. For service done in the Forest business.

"IV. For being the cause of setting forth the last declaration of the reasons for breaking up the last Parliament, and the ill office he did in dissolving it."

On *Tuesday*, the 22nd of *December*, "before day, in the morning, the Lord Keeper fled.

"That day, in the forenoon, he was accused of high treason before the Lords.

[40] See *Diurnall Occurrences*.

"Then, also, information was given to the Lords from the House of Commons by one of their members that they intended to accuse six of the judges, viz., the Lord *Bramston*,[41] Justice *Berckley*, Lord Chief Baron *Trevor*, Baron *Weston*, and Justice *Crawley*, with great and notorious crimes, and therefore desired there might be a cause taken with them for their attendance, whereupon the Lords enforced them to enter into recognizance of ten thousand pound apiece to appear and answer, and put in bail on *Thursday* next."[42]

"On *Monday*, the 27th [28th] of *June*, Mr. *Charber*,[43] who was lately Ambassador at *Brussels* from his Majesty, did accuse the Lord *Cottington* of high treason about the late Spanish fleet, for sending intelligence privately into *Spain* of some propositions made by the Hollanders to our said King concerning the said fleet, the further consideration whereof being referred to a particular Committee."[44]

On *Wednesday*, the 4th of *August*, "in the House of Commons they read a petition against the Lord *Cottington* for taking bribes in the Court of Wards, in one Mr. *Heywood's* case."[45]

[41] He was Sir John Bramston, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench; the sixth, omitted here, was Sir Humphry Davenport, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.—ED.

[42] From *Diurnall Occurrences*.

[43] Query *Jerbeer*.

[44] From *Diurnall Proceedings*.

[45] Ibid. See Appendix, KK.

*Articles of Impeachment against Sir* THOMAS GARDINER, *Recorder of the City of London.*

"Imprimis. That the said Sir *Thomas Gardiner* being now, and for six years past having been, Recorder of the City of *London*, and having taken oath for his faithful Discharge of his said office, and to maintain the Franchises and Customs of the said City, and not to discover the counsel thereof to the hurt of the same, did in the year 1638, contrary to the laws of this Kingdom, and contrary to his oath, wickedly advise, direct, and earnestly press, Sir *Maurice Abbot*, Knight, then Lord Mayor of *London*, the Aldermen and Common Council of the said city, and others, at several times since, to impose, levy, and take of, the said Citizens and Inhabitants without their consent in Parliament, the illegal tax of Ship Money; and being told of it by some of the said Common Council, that the said tax of Ship Money was against law, he, the said Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, replied there would be law found for it ere long.

"II. That the said Sir *Thomas Gardiner* in the said year, 1638, did wickedly advise and persuade the said then Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of *London*, that they might at their own will and pleasure, by force and power of the Acts of that Court, take and levy on the said Citizens and Inhabitants, without their consent in Parliament, a certain sum of money by way of loan, to furnish his Majesty for his wars, affirming that such acts

would bind and compel the Citizens to pay the same. And also in the same year, 1638, contrary to his oath, and against the said laws of the land, did wickedly advise and direct the then Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, to raise and levy an Army of three thousand Men of the Trained Bands of the said City, to serve his Majesty in his Wars in the North against his Majesty's subjects of *Scotland*; and herein he affirmed that every subject was bound by his allegiance to serve the King, and that neither the former laws nor their Charters could excuse them; saying also at the same time, It is now no time to plead Statutes and Charter.

"III. That about the month of *February* 1639 he, the said Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, contrary to his oath, and to the laws of the land, did earnestly persuade and press Sir *Henry Garraway*, Knight, then Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and Common Council of *London*, to impress, clothe, and conduct two hundred men of the North against his Majesty's subjects of *Scotland*, and also the same was to be done by the said Court of Common Council as a thing against law, yet by the persuasion of the said Sir *Thomas Gardiner* the same was then performed by the then Lord Mayor, and the money paid for the same out of the Chamber of *London*, without any consent or approbation of the said Court of Common Council; contrary to the liberties of the custom of the said City, and in subversion of them.

"IV. That a petition directed to his Majesty being preferred in the said year 1638, by the said

then Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, setting forth the laws and statutes of this Kingdom, and the Charter of the said City, to exempt the said Citizens and Inhabitants of *London* from certain illegal taxes and services, whereby his Majesty might be pleased not to continue such his demands of men and money from them, the said Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, contrary to his oath and duty of his place, did reveal and disclose to his Majesty their counsel, and their intentions of delivery of that petition, and then told the persons appointed to deliver the same petition, that his Majesty would not receive no petition from them.

"v. That the said *Thomas Gardiner*, to the end to preserve himself from being questioned for the same crimes, labouring to hinder the calling of Parliaments. And therefore, in the month of *May* 1640, presently after the dissolving of the Parliament, he, the said Sir *Thomas Gardiner* advised and persuaded the then Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of *London*, to lend the King one hundred thousand pounds for his wars against his Majesty's subjects of *Scotland*. And albeit they told him it was not safe for them to do it, when the Parliament and Kingdom had refused it, yet he earnestly persuaded them thereunto; and in or about *July* 1640, when many thousands of the said citizens of *London* joined in a petition to be delivered unto his Majesty, to call a parliament for settling the distractions of this Kingdom, and for the peace and welfare thereof, and of his Majesty's Kingdom of

*Scotland*, he, the said *Thomas Gardiner*, did earnestly dissuade them from it, saying it was dangerous and needless, and the petition would come unseasonable to interrupt the King's affairs.

"VI. That in *December* last, when a petition was prepared and subscribed by many thousand of the said Citizens to be presented to the House of Commons, to assure them of their good affection to the King and Parliament, and not to divert the Parliament in their just ways, he the said *Thomas Gardiner* caused some of the petitioners to be sent for before the Lord Mayor and himself, and questioned them as rioters and disturbers of the peace; saying that the putting to their hands to a petition was the way to put all together by the ears, and being then answered by some of the said petitioners that they sought nothing but peace, he replied in these or the like words: 'Is this your way to peace? No, it tends to sedition, and blood, and to cutting of throats, and if it come to that you may thank yourselves, your bloods be upon your own heads;' and he used other threatening speeches, to discourage and terrify the petitioners from further proceeding in their said petition; which petition was afterwards presented to the Lords and Commons in Parliament, and well approved by them, and doth not contain any dangerous matter, as was maliciously by him pretended, as may appear by the copy of a petition hereunto annexed.

"VII. That in *January* last, at a Court of Common Council in *London*, an order of the House of

Commons was sent and delivered to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the said City, appointing them to make choice of meet persons to have the ordering of the militia. Whereat the said Sir *Thomas Gardiner* was present, and took notice of the said orders, and declared his opinion, That the persons of the Committee formerly chosen for the safety of the city, were the fittest men to take that service upon them. Whereupon the Lord Mayor and Sheriff desiring to be excused, the persons of the said Committee were chosen by a clear vote, and their names sent to the House of Commons, and by them and the House of Peers allowed and approved of; yet afterwards he, the said *Thomas Gardiner*, endeavouring and plotting to hinder the proceedings in Parliament, the peace and safety of this Kingdom, did most maliciously and wickedly advise and direct the making and framing of two false and seditious petitions. And he the said Sir *Thomas Gardiner* upon perusal of them affirmed the matters in them to be agreeable to law, and to the custom of the said city, thereby encouraging divers of the said city to subscribe the same, and to send the one of them to be presented to his Majesty, and the other to the Lords and Commons in Parliament. Which petitions do contain in them divers false scandals, and seditious matters. And, in particular, that petition annexed hereunto, a copy whereof was afterwards subscribed by divers citizens, and presented to the House of Commons, containeth false matter; That the order-

ing of the arms of the said City of *London* had been time out of mind annexed to the mayoralty for the time being, and insinuating that if the same should be conferred upon others, it would reflect upon the government and custom of the said city, which every freeman of the said city was by his oath of freedom bound to maintain to the utmost of his power: Which petitions were so contrived, framed, and published, on purpose to divert his Majesty from assenting to the said ordinance, and to work a distraction in the said city, and to bring the Parliament, City, and whole Kingdom into a disorder and confusion. All which matter, committed and done by the said Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, were and are high crimes and misdemeanours, contrary to the laws of this realm, and subversive of them, and contrary to the rights and privileges of Parliament, the liberty and propriety of the subjects, tending to sedition, and to the disturbance of the peace of this realm.

"And the said Commons by protestation saving to themselves the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any other accusation or impeachment against Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, We do pray that the said Sir *Thomas Gardiner* may be put to answer all and every the premisses; and that such proceeding, exactions, trials, and judgments, may be upon every one of them had and used, as is agreeable to law and justice." [46]

[46] *Rushworth*, part iii. vol. i. p. 780.

# XVI.

Of Cruel Projectors with their Letters-Patent—Of the Deceit of the Farmers of the Custom-House.

Our misery that we were in, in regard of those cruel oppression projectors with their letters patent,[1] which did get all into their lion's paws to the undoing of many thousands of the poor.[2] For I myself have seen some poor women and children lament and cry to see their vessels broke, and their goods taken away by force before their eyes, and none to help them. And now you may see a little of our misery by the petitions that were put up to this honourable Court of Parliament.

"On *Monday*, the 17th [16th] of *November*, 1640, Mr. *Watkins*, a projector for Butter, and other monopolists were brought to the bar upon their knees.

"On *Saturday* the 12th of *December*, Sir *John Jacob* was absolutely expelled the house for a projector in Tobacco; a merchant proving it fully upon him he had lost three thousand pounds in and by him.

"On *Tuesday* the 2nd [1st] of *February*, Sir *Nicholas Crispe* was upon his knees in the house for a monopolist in Lead and Copperas: Mr. *George Goring* was also taxed for a monopolist in Tobacco,

[1] Letter pattens. [2] See Appendix, Note LL.

but he laid it to his father, the lord *Goring*, and was discharged of it. This day was fifty Monopolists discovered in the house.[3]

"On *Thursday*, the 23rd [22nd] of *February*, the patent for Coals was debated and voted against by the house, and the twelve pence upon the chaldron taken off.

"On *Friday* the 5th [3rd] of *March* the patent for making of saltpetre and gunpowder was quite damned;[4] and it was voted that any might make saltpetre and gunpowder, and sell the same."[5]

"On *Saturday*, the 29th of *May*, a Committee sat concerning the delinquents in the soap business, salt and leather.

"On *Monday*, the 28th of *July*, there was also a Committee appointed for soap and starch.[6]

"On *Tuesday*, the 25th of *May*, they voted Alderman *Abell*, *Kilvert*, and the Vintners, delinquents for taxes of wines.

"On *Wednesday*, the 26th of *May*, they ordered Alderman *Abell* and Mr. *Kilvert*, for the contriving and putting in execution the wine license, and raising the price of wines, to deserve exemplary punishments, and sent an order to the Master and the Wardens of the Company for the sale of wines as formerly, French wines at sixpence a quart, and Spanish at twelvepence a quart.[7]

"On *Monday*, the last of *May*, it was ordered by

[3] See Appendix, Note MM.
[4] *i. e.* condemned.
[5] From *Diurnall Occurrences*.
[6] See Appendix, Note NN.
[7] See Appendix, Note OO.

the Commons, upon report that Alderman *Abell* and Mr. *Kilvert* had conveyed away their plate and some other goods, that they should be both sent to the Tower, and their goods siezed upon, which was done accordingly ; but upon their humble petition the order was stayed for their going to the Tower till there should be a report made of their charge." [8]

Oh the damage and the misery that we were in by paying of ship-money ; and the wrong and impoverishing of very many thousands in paying monies for the New Corporations which was against all law and conscience !

Nay, the world was grown to such an height of wickedness that (men would not only cosen and deceive one another, but) men would cosen and deceive our King himself; as you may see by these farmers of the Custom House.

On *Saturday* the 22nd of *May*, there was "a report in the House of Commons from the Committee concerning the customers, by which it did appear that they had deceived the King in 13 years of seven hundred and sixteen thousand pounds, upon which it was voted that all they that took the farm as well such as are since dead, as those now living, make satisfaction.

"On *Wednesday* the 26th of *May*, the House . . . fell into debate for the speedy raisings of moneys upon the customers, upon which the great farmers, namely, Sir *Paul Pinder*, Sir *Abraham Dawes*, Sir *John Worsnam*, and Sir *John Jacob*, delivered a

[8] From *Diurnall Occurrences.*

petition to the Commons wherein they humbly acknowledged their delinquency, but pleaded ignorance, and proffered one hundred and fifty thousand pounds composition to be paid within a month, in lieu of their parts of seven hundred and sixteen thousand pounds, desiring there might be an Act of Oblivion upon it, which was granted. But it was then also voted that all those that had suffered damages by the customers, either in goods or otherwise, might have legal course in law for reparation.

"On *Saturday*, the 29th of *May*, a report was made to the House against the new customers, that they had deceived the King within these two years of seventy thousand pounds. And a petition was delivered by Sir *Nicholas Crispe*, Sir *John Nutts*, Sir *John Worsnam*, and Sir *Thomas Dawes*, in the behalf of the rest, acknowledging their fault, pleading ignorance, and proffered fifteen thousand pounds for a composition, for the said two last years, which was accepted, and to be entered into an Act of Oblivion with the rest.

"On *Tuesday*, the 1st of *June*, there was a debate for the letting of the farm of the Custom House to new farmers and the making of a new book of rates. There was also a motion made that there might be an imposition laid upon wines and currants,[9] and such like commodities, to restrain the excess of their being imported." [10]

[9] See Appendix, Note PP.

[10] From *Diurnall Occurrences*.

# XVII.

THE EARL OF STRAFFORD, DEPUTY OF IRELAND, THE GREAT ENEMY OF ALL GOODNESS.

THUS have I shewed you of the many great miseries that we were in in regard of the Church, and Commonwealth, and of the exceeding great mercy of God in bringing it to light, and making it known unto us all what misery we were in, and so delivering us from it, which is an exceeding great mercy. But yet this is not all, for behold, a greater mercy in bestowing abundance of blessings which our forefathers prayed for, and desired to see that which we now see, and did not.

But before I go any further, I will shew you one more great mercy of God in the delivering us from this great Enemy of the Church and Commonwealth, I mean the Earl of *Strafford* (that was full of cruelty and blood) and hath caused at last the head of this great Goliath to be cut off; for ever the Lord's name be praised.

*February* 16, 1641.—*Articles of the Commons assembled in Parliament, against* THOMAS, *Earl of* STRAFFORD, *in maintenance of their Accusation, whereby he stands charged of High Treason.*

"1. That he, the said *Thomas*, Earl of *Strafford*, hath traitorously endeavoured to subvert the funda-

mental laws and government of the Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and instead thereof to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical Government against law, which he hath declared by traitorous words, counsels, and actions, and by giving his Majesty advice by force of arms to compel his loyal subjects to submit thereunto.

"II. That he hath traitorously assumed to himself regal power over the lives, liberties, persons, lands, and goods, of his Majesty's subjects in *England* and *Ireland*, and hath exercised the same tyrannically, to the subversion and undoing of many, both of peers, and others of his Majesty's liege people.

"III. That the better to enrich and enable himself to go through with his traitorous designs, he hath detained a great part of his Majesty's revenue without giving legal account, and hath taken great sums out of the Exchequer, converting them to his own use; when his Majesty was necessitated, for his own urgent occasions, and his Army had been a long time unpaid.

"IV. That he hath traitorously abused the power and authority of his government to the increasing, countenancing, and encouraging of papists, that so he might settle a mutual dependence and confidence betwixt himself and that party, and by their help prosecute and accomplish his malicious and tyrannical designs.

"V. That he hath maliciously endeavoured to stir up enmity and hostility between his Majesty's subjects of *England* and those of *Scotland*.

"VI. That he hath traitorously broken the great

trust reposed in him by his Majesty, of Lieutenant-General of his Army, by wilfully betraying divers of his Majesty's subjects to death, his army to a dishonourable defeat by the Scots at *Newburn*, and the town of *Newcastle* into their hands, to the end that by the effusion of blood by dishonour, and so great a loss of *Newcastle*, his Majesty's Realm of *England* might be engaged in a national and irreconcileable quarrel with the Scots.

"VII. That to prevent himself from being questioned for those and other his traitorous courses, he laboured to subvert the right of parliaments, and the ancient course of parliamentary proceedings, and by false and malicious slanders to incense his Majesty against parliaments. By which words, counsels, and actions, he hath traitorously and contrary to his allegiance, laboured to alienate the hearts of the King's liege people from his Majesty, to set a division between them, and to destroy his Majesty's kingdom.

"VIII. And he, the said Earl of *Strafford*, was Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and Lieutenant-General of the army there, under his most excellent Majesty for his Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Lord President of the North, during the time that all and every the crimes and offences before set forth were done and committed; and he, the said Earl, was Lieutenant-General of all his Majesty's Army in the North parts of *England* during the time that the crimes and offences in the fifth and sixth Articles set forth were done and committed."

*The further Impeachment of* THOMAS, *Earl of* STRAFFORD, *by the Commons assembled in Parliament.*

"Whereas the said Commons have already exhibited Articles against the said Earl, formally expressed; now the said Commons do further impeach the said Earl, as followeth:—

"1. That he, the said Earl of *Strafford*, the 21st of *March*, in the 8th year of his now Majesty's reign, was President of the King's Council in the Northern parts of *England*. And being President of the said Council, a Commission under the Great Seal of *England*, with certain instructions therein, was directed to the said Earl, or others the Commissioners, therein named, whereby amongst other things, power and authority is limited to the said Earl, and others the Commissioners.

"Amongst other things in the said instructions it is directed that the said President and others therein appointed shall hear and determine according to the course of proceeding in the Court of Starchamber; and so also in the Court of Chancery, all manner of Complaints for any matter within the said precincts, and

"Yet the said Earl, in the month of *May*, in the said 8th year, and divers years following, did put in practice, exercise, and use, and caused to be used and put in practice, the said Commission and instructions, and did direct and exercise an exorbitant and unlawful power and jurisdiction on the persons and estates of his Majesty's subjects in

those parts, and did disinherit divers of his Majesty's subjects in those parts of their inheritances, sequestered their possessions, and did fine, ransom, punish and imprison them to their ruin and destruction, namely Sir *Conyers Darcy*, Sir *John Bourcher*, and divers others, against laws, and in subversion of the same.

"II. That the said Earl did publicly at the Assizes held for the county of *York*, in the city of *York*, declare and publish before the people there attending for the administration of justice according to the law, and in the presence of the justices sitting, that some of the justices were all for law, but they should find that the King's little finger should be heavier than the loins of the law.

"III. That the said Earl, in a public speech before divers of the nobility and gentry, and before the Mayor, Alderman, and Recorder, and many citizens in *Dublin*, and other his Majesty's liege people, declare and publish that *Ireland* was a conquered nation, and that the King might do with them what he pleased; and, speaking of the charters of the former King of *England* made to that city, he further said that their charters were nothing worth, and did bind the King no further than he pleaseth.

"IV. That *Richard*, Earl of *Cork*, having sued out process in course of law, for recovery of his possessions, from which he was put by colour of an order made by the said Earl of *Strafford*, The said Earl of *Strafford* upon a paper petition without legal proceeding, threatened the said Earl of *Cork* (being

then a peer of the said realm) to imprison him unless he would surcease his suit, and said, That he would have neither laws nor lawyers dispute or question any of his orders. And he said that he would make the said Earl and all *Ireland* know so long as he had government there, any act of state there made or to be made, should be as binding to the subjects of that kingdom as an Act of Parliament.

"v. That the said Earl of *Strafford*, the 12th of *December*, 1635, in the time of full peace, did in the said Realm of *Ireland* give and procure to be given against the Lord *Mount Norris*, then and yet a peer of *Ireland*, and then Vice-Treasurer, and Receiver-General of the realm of *Ireland*, and one of the principal Secretaries of State, and keeper of the privy signet of the said kingdom, a sentence of death by a council of war, called together by the said Earl of *Strafford*, without any warrant or authority of law, or offence deserving any such punishment. And he, the said Earl, did also at *Dublin*, within the said realm of *Ireland*, without any legal or due proceedings or trial, give or cause to be given, a sentence of death against another of his Majesty's subjects (whose name is yet unknown) and caused him to be put to death in execution of the said sentence.

"VI. That the said Earl of *Strafford*, without any legal proceedings, and upon a paper petition of *Richard Ralstone*, did cause the said Lord *Mount Norris* to be disseised, and put out of possession of his freehold and inheritance of his Manor and

*Tymore* in the county of *Armagh* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, the said Lord *Mount Norris* having been two years before in quiet possession thereof.

"VII. That the said Earl of *Strafford* did without any legal proceeding, cause *Thomas*, Lord *Dillon*, a peer of the said realm of *Ireland*, to be put out of possession of divers lands and tenements, being his freehold in the County of *Mayo* and *Roscommon* in the said Kingdom, and divers other of his Majesty's subjects to be also put out of possession, and disseised of their freehold by colour of the same resolution, without legal proceedings; whereby hundreds of his Majesty's subjects were undone, and their families utterly ruined.

"VIII. That the said Earl of *Strafford*, upon a petition of Sir *John Gifford*, Knight, made a decree or order against *Adam*, Viscount *Loftus* of *Ely*, a peer of the said realm of *Ireland*, and Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*; and did cause the said Viscount to be imprisoned and kept close prisoner on pretence of disobedience to the said decree or order. And the said Earl, without any authority and contrary to his commission, commanded the said Lord Viscount to yield unto him the Great Seal of the Realm of *Ireland*, which was then in his custody by his Majesty's command, and imprisoned the said Chancellor for not obeying such his command.

"And without any legal proceedings, did in the same year imprison *George*, Earl of *Kildare*, a peer of *Ireland*, against law, thereby to enforce him to submit his title to the Manor and Lordship of *Castle*

*Leigh*, in the *Queen's* County (being of great yearly value) to the said Earl of *Strafford's* will and pleasure, and kept him a year prisoner.

"And upon a petition exhibited in 1635 by *Thomas Hibbots* against dame *Mary Hibbots*, widow, to him, the said Earl of *Strafford* recommended the said petition to the Council tables of *Ireland*, where the most part of the Council gave their vote and opinion for the said lady, but the said Earl finding fault herewith, caused an order to be entered against the said lady and threatened her, that if she refused to submit thereunto, he would imprison her and fine her five hundred pounds, that if she continued obstinate, he would continue her imprisonment, and double her fine every month; whereof she was enforced to relinquish her estate in the land questioned in the said petition; which shortly was conveyed to Sir *Robert Meredith* to the use of the said Earl of *Strafford*. And the said Earl in like manner did imprison divers others of his Majesty's subjects upon pretence of disobedience to his orders and decrees, and other illegal demands by him made for pretended debts, titles of lands and other causes in an arbitrary course.

"IX. That the said Earl of *Strafford* assumeth to himself a power above and against law; took upon him by a general warrant under his hand to give power to the Lord Bishop of *Down* and *Connor*, his Chancellor, and their several officers thereto to be appointed, to attach and arrest the bodies of all such of the meaner and poor sort, and so forth.

"x. That the said Earl of *Strafford*, being Lord-Lieutenant or Deputy of *Ireland*, procured the customs of the merchandize exported out, and imported into that realm, to be farmed to his own uses.

"And in the ninth year of his now Majesty's reign, he having then interest in the said customs (to advance his own gain and lucre) did cause and procure the native commodities of Ireland to be rated in the Book of Rates for the Customs, at far greater values and prices than in truth they were worth, every hide at twenty shillings, which in truth was worth but five shillings, every stone of wool at thirteen shillings four pence, though the same was ordinarily worth but five shillings, at the utmost but nine shillings; by which means the custom which before was but a twentieth part of the true value of the commodity, was enhanced sometimes to a fifth part, and sometimes to a fourth, and sometimes to a third part of the true value, to the great oppression of the subjects, and decay of merchandize.

"xi. That the said Earl for his own lucre restrained the exportation of pipe staves and other commodities, and then raised great sums of money for licensing of exportation of those commodities, and dispensation of the said restraints imposed on them; by which means the pipe staves were raised from four pound ten shillings or five pound a thousand, to ten pound, and sometimes eleven pound a thousand.

"XII. That the said Earl, being Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, did issue a proclamation in his Majesty's name, prohibiting the importation of tobacco without license of him, and the Council; after which restraint, the said Earl, notwithstanding the said restraint, caused divers great quantities of tobacco to be imported to his own use, and if any ship brought tobacco into any port there, the said Earl and his agents used to buy the same to his own use at their own price. And if that the owners refused to let him have the same at undervalues, then they were not permitted to vent the same, by which undue means the Earl having gotten the whole trade of tobacco into his own hands, he sold it at great and excessive prices such as he list to impose for his own profit; and many other cruelties he did put the people to suffer. And by unjust monopolies the said Earl raised ten hundred thousand pounds gain to himself. And the said Earl, by the same and other rigorous and undue means, raised several other monopolies and unlawful exactions for his own gain, on starch, iron, pots, glasses, tobacco-pipes, and several other commodities.

"XIII. That flax being one of the principal and native commodities of that Kingdom of *Ireland*, the said Earl, having gotten great quantities thereof into his hands, and growing on his own lands, did issue out several proclamations enjoining the working of flax into yarn and thread, and the ordering of the same in such ways wherein the natives of that kingdom were unskilful. And the flax wrought in other

manner than the said proclamation prescribed was seized, and employed to the use of him and his agents, and thereby the said Earl endeavoured to gain, and did gain in effect, the sole sale of that native commodity.

"XIV. That the said Earl of *Strafford* by proclamation did impose upon the owners, masters, pursers, and boatswains, of every ship, a new and unlawful oath, that they, immediately at the arrival of any ship within any port of the said kingdom, should give in a true invoice of the outward bulk of wares, merchandize, and number of goods, and condition of the said goods, the names of the several merchants, and the places from whence they were freighted; and sundry persons were enforced to take the said unlawful oath.

"XV. That the said Earl of *Strafford* did, upon his own authority, without any warrant or colour of law, tax and impose great sums of money upon the towns of *Baltimore*,[1] *Bandonbridge*, *Tallow*, and divers other towns, and did cause the same to be levied upon the inhabitants of those towns by troops of soldiers with force and arms in a warlike manner. And traitorously did give authority unto *Robert Savill*, a Sergeant-at-Arms, and to the captains of the companies of soldiers in several parts of that realm, to send numbers of soldiers to lie on the lands and houses of such as would not conform to his orders, until they should render obedience to his said orders. And the said Earl of *Strafford* did

[1] Near Skibbereen.

traitorously cause certain troops of horse and foot, armed in warlike manner, with force and arms to expel *Richard Butler* from the possession of *Castle Combe*, and did likewise in like manner expel divers of his Majesty's subjects from their houses, and families, and possessions, to the number of about a hundred families, and took and imprisoned them, and their wives, and carried them prisoners to *Dublin*, and there detained them until they did yield up, surrender, or release their respective estates and rights.

"XVI. That the said Earl of *Strafford* obtained from his Majesty an allowance that no complaint of injustice or oppression done in *Ireland*, should be received in *England* against any, unless it first appear that the party made first his address to him, the said Earl; and the said Earl, having by such usurped, tyrannical and exorbitant power destroyed the peers, and other subjects of that kingdom of *Ireland* in their lives, consciences, lands, liberties, and estates, to the intent the better to maintain and strengthen his power, and to bring the people into a disaffection of his Majesty as aforesaid, did use his Majesty's Name in the Execution of the said Power.

"XVII. That the said Earl, having by such means as aforesaid, subverted the government and laws of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, did, in scandal of his Majesty, of all his kingdoms, and in further executions of his wicked purposes aforesaid, speaking of the armies in *Ireland*, declare that his Majesty

was so well pleased with the army of *Ireland*, and the consequence thereof, that his Majesty would certainly make the same a pattern for all his three kingdoms.

"XVIII. That the said Earl of *Strafford* did endeavour to draw dependency upon himself of the papists in both Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and, to that end, during the time of his government in *Ireland* he restored divers friaries and mass-houses to the pretended owners thereof, who have since employed the same to the exercise of the popish religion. And in the month of *May* and *June* last the said Earl did raise an army in the said realm of *Ireland*, consisting of eight thousand foot, all of which, except one thousand, were papists.

"XIX. That the said Earl did, of his own authority, contrive and frame a new and unusual oath, which oath he enforced on the subjects of the Scottish nation, inhabiting in *Ireland*, out of hatred to the said nation, and to put them to a discontent with his Majesty and his government there, and compelled divers of his Majesty's said subjects there to take the said oath. Some he grievously fined and imprisoned, and others he destroyed and exiled, and namely (the 10th of *October*, 1639) he fined *Henry Steward* and his wife, who refused to take the said oath, five thousand pounds apiece, and their two daughters, and *James Gray*, three thousand pounds apiece, and imprisoned them for not paying the said fines, they being the King's liege

people of the Scottish nation, and divers others he used in like manner. And the said Earl did declare that the said oath did not only oblige them in point of allegiance to his Majesty, and acknowledgment of his supremacy only, but to the ceremonies and government of the Church established, and said that the refusers to obey he would prosecute to the blood.

"XX. That the said Earl did labour and endeavour to persuade, incite, and provoke his Majesty to an offensive war against his said subjects of the Scottish nation, and hath advised his Majesty that the demand made by the Scots in this Parliament were a sufficient cause of war against them.

"XXI. That the said Earl of *Strafford* intended, if the proceedings of this Parliament should not be such as would stand with the said Earl of *Strafford's* mischievous designs, he would then procure his Majesty to break the same, and by ways of force and power to raise monies upon the said subjects of this kingdom.

"XXII. That in the month of *March*, before the beginning of the last Parliament, the said Earl of *Strafford* went into *Ireland*, and procured the Parliament of that kingdom to declare their assistance in a war against the Scots, and gave directions for the raising of an army consisting of eight thousand foot and a thousand horse, being for the most part papist, and confederating with one Sir *George Radcliffe*, did, together with him, the said Sir *George*, traitorously conspire to employ the said army for

the ruin and destruction of the Kingdom of *England*, and of his Majesty's subjects, and of altering and subverting of the fundamental laws of this kingdom.

"XXIII. That the said Earl of *Strafford*, with the assistance of the Archbishop, did procure his Majesty by sundry speeches and messages to urge the said Commons House to enter into some resolution for his Majesty's supply for maintenance of his war against his subjects of *Scotland*, before any course was taken for the relief of that great and pressing grievance wherewith this kingdom was then afflicted.

"XXIV. That the said Earl (in *May* 1638) having so maliciously slandered the House of Commons, he did, with the help of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord *Finch*, late Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, cause to be printed and published in his Majesty's name a false and scandalous book, entitled 'His Majesty's Declaration of the causes that moved him to dissolve the late Parliament,' full of bitter and malicious invectives, and false and scandalous aspersions against the said House of Commons.

"XXV. That the said Earl of *Strafford* did advise the King to go on rigorously in levying the ship-money, and did procure the sheriffs of several counties to be sent for, for not levying the ship-money; divers of them were, by his advice, sued in the Star Chamber, and divers of his Majesty's loving subjects were sent for, and imprisoned, by

his advice, and a great loan of a hundred thousand pounds was demanded of the city of *London*, and the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, and Sheriffs of the city were sent for, and the Earl did use these, or the like, speeches, That they deserved to be put to fine and ransom, and that no good would be done with them till an example were made of them, and that they were laid by the heels, and some of the Aldermen hanged up.

"XXVI. That the said Earl of *Strafford*, by his wicked counsel having brought his Majesty into excessive charges without any just cause, he did in the month of July last counsel and approve two dangerous and wicked projects; to seize upon the bullion and the money in the Mint, and to imbase his Majesty's coin with the mixtures of brass. And, accordingly, he procured one hundred and thirty thousand pounds, which was then in the Mint, and belonging to divers merchants, strangers, and others, to be seized on, and stayed to his Majesty's use.

"XXVII. That in, or about, *August* last, he was made Lieutenant-General of all his Majesty's forces in the Northern parts against the Scots, and being at *York* did, by his own authority, and without any lawful warrant, impose a tax on his Majesty's subjects in the county of *York* of eight pence for maintenance of every soldier of the trained bands of the county, which sums of money he caused to be levied by force. And to the end to compel them out of fear and terror to yield to the payment of the same, he did declare that he would commit them that

refused the payment thereof, and the soldiers should be satisfied out of their estates, and they that refused it were in very little better condition than of high treason.

"XXVIII. That in the months of *September* and *October* last he, the said Earl of *Strafford*, being certified of the Scottish army coming into the kingdom, he being Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's army, did not provide for the defence of the town of *Newcastle*, as he ought to have done, but suffered the same to be lost, that so he might the more incense the English against the Scots."

Thus I have written some part of the Articles of *Thomas*, Earl of *Strafford*, and Deputy of *Ireland*. "All and every of which words, counsels, and actions of the said Earl were traitorously, and with an intention to alienate and withdraw the hearts and affections of the King's liege people of all his realms from his Majesty, and set a division between them, and to ruin and destroy his Majesty's said kingdoms, for which they impeach him, the said *Thomas*, Earl of *Strafford*, of high treason against our Sovereign Lord the King, his crown, and dignities.

"Scatter the people that delight in war."—Ps. lxviii. 30.

*Of the Trial of this Cunning and Cruel Earl of* STRAFFORD.

On *Monday*, the 21st of *March*, 1641, the trial of the Earl of *Strafford* before both Houses of Parliament [took place] at *Westminster* Hall, there being scaffolds raised upon both sides of the hall where the

Commons sat, and in the midst, in a lower seat, sat the Peers, the Earl of *Arundel*, Lord High Steward, and the Earl of *Lindsay*, Lord High Constable. The Earl of *Strafford* being brought to the bar, the charge against him, with his answer, was only read, and so he was dismissed for this day.[2]

The King, Queen, and Prince being also present to see the proceeding, sitting in a close gallery, made of purpose. And this Earl of *Strafford* went from this 21st of *March* almost every day from the Tower to *Westminster*, till the 17th of *April*, having every time he went, the train band to attend him, to the great charge of the city, and every man's trouble, insomuch that with his six counsellors and he being so cunning, we did think he would escape. And after this, Mr. *St. John*, a lawyer, was to shew or to prove him a traitor by law, and so he proved him a traitor. So that then all made no other account but he should then die. But on the 1st of *May* the King came to the Lords, and told them that he could see nothing in him that deserves death, but that he hath misbehaved himself in something, and so deserves to lose his place; and that he had a tender conscience, and therefore would not have him to die. These words made our hearts heavy and sad.

And on the 3rd of *May*, a many of citizens went up to *Westminster* to petition the Lords for justice on this traitor; and it is to be thought that there

[2] See Appendix, Note QQ.

were about fifteen thousand people, and I myself was there, and surely I never did see so many together in all my life. And when they did see any Lords coming, they all cried with one voice, "Justice! justice!" and the next day there went a many more, but I think not so many as before.

On *Monday*, the 3rd of *May*, early in the morning, there met about *Westminster* Hall a great number of citizens, some do think about fifteen thousand (being for the most part men of good fashion), who as the Lords and other Parliament men came by, made them a lane to pass with their coaches, calling upon them for justice against the Earl of *Strafford* and others, complaining that they were undone through the want of the due execution thereof, and that trading was so decayed thereby, that they could scarce get bread to maintain their families.

The Lords generally gave good words; amongst the rest the Lord Chamberlain, upon whom they called with greatest clamour, went out of his coach (some other Lords being with him) and with his hat in his hand, prayed them to be quiet, and what lay in his power should be done, and he would likewise move his Majesty that justice might be executed according to their request. And accordingly the Lord Chamberlain and some of the Lords went to the King (who purposed to have been at the house that morning, his barge waiting at the Privy Stairs to that end, and by reason of the tumults did not come) and acquainted him with

the citizens' complaints and desires, moving his Majesty therein; and upon their return certified the citizens that his Majesty had promised they should have speedy execution of justice to their desires, upon which they rested well satisfied, and went home.[3]

*One Cruel and Wicked Act more of the Earl of* STRAFFORD.

A gentleman having a living of about some four hundred pounds a year in Ireland, hard by the Earl of *Strafford's* living, the Earl would fain have bought it of the gentleman; but he refusing to sell it, and the Earl of *Strafford* understanding he did delight in good horses, the Earl bid his servant take one of his horses, and ride by the gentleman, and if he cheapens and bids any money for the horse, he should take it of him. So the servant did, and sold the horse for twenty pound, and brought it to his master the Earl. Then the Earl gave his man forty pound more to that twenty pound, and bid him go for England and dwell there; the servant all this while knowing nothing of this cruel wicked intent of the Earl his master.

Then when his servant was gone for *England*, the Earl made hue and cry for his horse, and search was made; and the horse was found in the gentleman's stables; and so the Earl apprehended the gentleman, and cast him into prison, and two

[3] See the *History of the Parliament of England which began November* 3, 1640, by Thomas May, Secretary to the Parliament; Oxford, 1854, pp. 86–94.

juries going on him, but they would not find the gentleman guilty; then the Earl made the jury to pay great fines, and those that could not pay he whipped them, that one or more died. So then the Earl would have a jury of his own choosing; and then that jury cast this guiltless gentleman guilty, and so they hanged him; and then the Earl did turn the gentleman's wife and children out of the living, and so took the possession of the living to himself.

You may read of the like cruel wicked act of *Ahab* towards *Naboth* for his vineyard, in 1 *Kings* xxi. verse 1 to 20.

On the 1st of *May*, about ten o'clock, there came a speech about the city that the papists had beset the House of Commons, and some said that the Parliament house was set on fire; with that I, and abundance more out of the city, and other parts, went up thither with swords and other weapons, but when we came there, it was nothing so, but all things were well; but there was a plot discovered in the house which hereafter we shall know. On *Saturday*, the 8th of *May*, there went abundance up to *Westminster* again, and we heard that the King would give us an answer on *Monday* about ten o'clock. And on *Monday*, the 10th of *May*, most of the city made account to go up again, and some did, and would have all our shops shut up, and so all to go up to *Westminster* with weapons, for to have justice executed on this traitor, the Earl of *Strafford*, but there were some did persuade us

to the contrary, so that most of us did tarry at home, and did not go. And on *Monday*, the 10th of *May*, we had joyful news, for we heard that the King had sealed that this Earl of *Strafford* should lose his head, and that there was a scaffold making for him to suffer upon *Tower Hill*, and that the King had sealed that the Parliament should continue as long as they please, and that the Lords should sit as long as the House of Commons. O great mercy!

Above three score times was this Earl of *Strafford* spoken of in the House of Commons. For, from the first day of their sitting, which was the 7th of *November*, 1640, till the 10th of *May*, 1641, still now and then he was complained of, and spoken of in the house. And surely I do not know of anything they had so long in hand as this Earl of *Strafford*, for he was very cunning and very tough in the handling.[4]

[4] ". . . our English Haman, who in his heart had vowed the wrack and ruine of all God's faithfull ones, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, at the least."—Vicar's *Jehovah Jireh*. London, 1644. See Appendix Note RR.

# XVIII.

THE ENEMIES OF GOD DO FLEE.

ON *Thursday*, the 12th of *November*, 1640, Secretary *Windebanke* was much questioned in the House of Commons for bailing of Jesuits, and it is the common vote that he will be grievously punished for it, and on *Friday*, the 4th of *December*, word was brought to the House of Commons from Secretary *Windebanke's* son, that his father was fled, and one *Reed* with him.[1]

On *Tuesday* before day, *December* the 29th, 1640, in the morning, the Lord Keeper fled. That day in the forenoon he was accused of high treason before the Lords.

On *Thursday*, the 6th of *May*, it was in the morning certified the House of Commons that those that were sent for by warrants from the House to be examined, were all fled the night before, and were not to be found.

On *Friday*, the 7th of *May*, there sat a Committee for examinations of witnesses concerning the conspiracy, upon which Mr. *Percy* and the rest are fled away.

On *Saturday*, the 16th of *May*, the House of Commons sent a message to the Lords shewing

[1] See Sanford's *Studies and Illustrations of the Great Rebellion*, p. 317. London, 1858.

that they had lately received intelligence by letters that Master *Henry Percy*, and two others with him, had been seen, and pursued, in a wood not far from the Earl of *Northumberland's*, at *Petworth*, and that one of their horses was wanting, which they left in the wood behind them. And they had been in a manor house, and lay there some nights unknown, and that they have been seen riding in the county thereabouts in divers disguises, and have privately sent to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and gotten a horse out of his stable.[2]

Oh, how many prayers have been put up to God that He would be pleased in the midst of justice to remember mercy, and oh, how hath our God heard us! for when, in His justice, there had been like to be a bloody war, and it was begun, for the sword was drawn. But oh, the goodness of our God in hearing us, in causing the sword to be sheathed, and war to cease!

Oh, how many prayers have been put up that God would be pleased to discover and bring to light, and make known the plots, designs, and wicked devices of our enemies! And now you may see that our God is a God that heareth the prayers of His poor, despised children, in delivering them from the hands of the wicked. As you see here followeth.

[2] According to Rushworth, the King's Proclamation, ordering "Henry Piercy, Esq., Henry Jermin, Esq., Sir John Suckling, Kt., William Davenant, and Captain Billingsly," "to render themselves within ten days," on this matter, was dated on May 8th, 164$\frac{2}{1}$.

# XIX.

Of the Plots and Dangers of the Wicked Papists against the Poor Church of God—Of the disarming of the Papists, and sending some to prison, and some to begone.

On *Thursday*, the 11th [10th] of February, "there were four gentlemen of the House of Commons went up to the Lords, to discover a great design on foot amongst the papists in *Ireland*, *Wales*, and *England*; fifteen hundred in arms in *Lancashire*, eight thousand in *Ireland*, and many thousand in South *Wales* and North *Wales*, well paid, and provided for by the Earl of *Strafford*, the Earl of *Worcester*, and others, and do frequently go to Mass at the sound of the drum."[1]

Likewise, of a great nobleman in *Wales*, that got all the farms he could into his hands, and kept the corn for three years, and got all the arms he could into his own hands, and had a strong commission to furnish what he would wherever those armies were to come. And there was a present from Secretary *Windebank* in the Queen's name, to have all the Papists fast every *Saturday* for the good success of that design.[2]

On *Tuesday*, the 9th [8th] of *February*, "there

[1] From *Diurnall Occurrences*. See also *Rushworth*, part iii. vol. i. p. 188; where the last words are "in an insolent manner."

[2] See *Diurnall Occurrences*.

was a debate for the furnishing of the King's navy, upon intelligence of great armies [preparing] in *France* and *Spain*."[3]

On *Thursday*, the 10th of *June*, "there was a report made to the House concerning a conspiracy;" "the effect was that they had received intelligence and proof by Colonel *Goring*, and some others, that the conspiracy in agitation was for the landing of the *French* army, the bringing up of our *English* and *Welsh* armies to London, and all to meet by a certain time, and that the Bishops [and Clergy] had a hand in this conspiracy, and did maintain a thousand horse for this purpose, and that those of the conspirators which were Parliament men had taken oath to oppose the Commons in divers things which, if they would not submit unto, these armies were to assist, and compel them to it."[4]

On *Monday*, the 14th [12th] of *June*, "Mr. *Henry Percy's* letter, which he sent to the Earl of *Northumberland*, his brother, being brought into the House, was read. Thereupon Commissary *Wilmot*, Colonel *Ashburnham*, and Captain *Pollard* (three members of the House mentioned in the said letters to have hands in the conspiracy) being commanded to withdraw, were called in severally, and examined. And they committed Commissary *Wilmot* to the Tower, Colonel *Ashburnham* to the King's Bench, and Captain *Pollard* to the Gatehouse;[5] and the

[3] From *Diurnall Occurrences*. [4] Ibid.

[5] The Gate-house stood at the entrance of Tothill Street from the Broad Sanctuary. Stow says: "The Gate-house is so called of two gates

House thereupon ordered a letter to be sent to Sir *Jacob Astley* for the sending up of three captains who had a hand in the said conspiracy, and withal to certify the army of their real intentions towards them."[6]

On *Tuesday*, the 15th of *June*, "there was a report made in the House that the Earl of *Newcastle* should have a hand in the conspiracy, and that he was to carry the Prince, (being his Governor), to meet the army, and to come up General [of them] to *London*."[7]

On *Wednesday*, the 16th of *June*, "Colonel *Goring* did appear, and desired he might deliver his examination in writing, and he would answer to the particulars, by whose examination it appeared for a further discovery of the plot, that they intended to seize on the Tower. The Lieutenant to have twenty thousand pounds for the Earl of *Strafford's* escape, and to marry his son to the Earl of *Strafford's* daughter; to go over into *Ireland*, and to send the army hither, and so to go over in *France*, and to possess the *English* army with an ill opinion of the Parliament. And to make them advance to *London*, to deliver up *Portsmouth* into *Jermin's* hands to be a rendez-vous for the French and Papists. And the Bishops to raise a hundred horse for that purpose."[8]

. . . . on the East side whereof was the Bishop of London's Prison, for Clerks Convict. And the other gate adjoining to the first, but towards the West, is a goal or prison for offenders thither committed. *Walker Warfield*, Celerer to the Monastery, caused both these gates to be builded in the reign of *Edward the Third*."

[6] From *Diurnall Occurrences*. [7] Ibid. [8] Ibid.

On *Saturday*, the 24th of *July*, "in the House of Commons, they received the report of the Committee concerning the conspiracy.

"First was for drawing of the army up to London, and then they voted in several votes that Mr. *Henry Percy*, Mr. *Jermin*, Sir *John Suckling*, and Mr. *Davenant*, were guilty of that intended design as chief conspirators."[9]

"At *Drogheda* there was a dangerous and wicked design upon Sir *Henry Tichbourne*, Governor of Drogheda, as appears that Captain *Garner* did always frequent Sir *Henry Tichbourne*, and did furnish him with abundance of victuals, only to make him a prey, and to get himself a good opinion in him and his officers, that they might have a good conceit of his loyal affection and respect unto his King and country. He, inviting Sir *Henry Tichbourne* and his officers to dinner, gives them all the entertainment they could expect from him, but he had so provided the business that, if God had not prevented, the city of *Drogheda* had been betrayed to the wicked rebels, for, by the means of one of his own soldiers, all the treachery was brought to light, which came to Sir *Henry Tichbourne*, and craved his pardon, which he obtained, upon which he related how Captain *Garner*, who was so intimate with Sir *Henry*, had provided an army of men to take *Dundalk*, and another to surprise Sir *Henry Tichbourne* and his officers, coming there to dinner; but, this being discovered, the Captain was taken, and his

[9] From *Diurnall Occurrences.*

soldiers were brought to *Dublin*, and put to the sword, the Captain's castle surprised and seized upon by Sir *Henry Tichbourne*."[10]

On *Saturday*, the 4th of *November*, 1640, a proclamation was put out by the Lords for sending away Papist recusants to their houses from the Court and city, there to remain unarmed, according to the statute of *Elizabeth* the 35th, and 2nd and 3rd *Jaco.* 5.

On *Tuesday*, the 1st of *December*, "the Committee for Religion delivered a note of divers recusants' names, amongst which there were nineteen Earls, and Barons, and divers abuses mentioned."[11]

On *Saturday*, the 21st of *November*, divers images were brought in that were set upon the rails about the Communion Table in *Allhallows, Barking*, near the Tower.[12]

On *Wednesday*, the 3rd [2nd] of *February*, "the King sent a message to the Parliament, giving them power to determine concerning the Jesuits."[13]

[10] From *Perfect Passages*, &c., No. 23. [1642. This paragraph, like several others, was evidently written according to the space left on the page, and not in the order of the occurrences.]

[11] From *Diurnall Occurrences*.

[12] "*Wednesday, Novemb.* 25. Mr. *White* reports from the Committee for Religion, '*That the Petition against Doctor* Layfield, *Vicar of* Allhallows, Barking, London, *was examined by the Committee, and fully proved he hath set the Communion Table Altar-wise, caused Rails, and* 10 *several Images upon those Rails, to be set at the Altar. He bowed three times at his going to the Rails, twice within the Rails, and once at the Table, and so in the Return. But since the Images were taken down, upon Complaint made by the Parish, he hath bowed but twice, and that is within the Rails, and at the Table, which is an argument he bowed before to the Images.*"—*Rushworth*, part iii. vol. i. p. 58.

[13] From *Diurnall Occurrences*.

On *Monday*, the 11th of *May*, "the Commons appointed four members of their House to go over to *Lambeth* to search the Archbishop's house what ammunition and arms they should find, and to seize upon the same."[14]

"Also, others were appointed to search about the Parliament House, lest any plot should be in agitation against them. Also an order sent to the Lord Mayor of *London*, to take care and prevent the great resort of the common people to Mass at the [*Portugal* and] *Spanish* Ambassador's."[15]

On *Friday*, the 15th [14th] of *May*, "there was a report of a Jesuit that should say, it being noised that the Parliament House was on fire, the time was not yet come, but it would be so ere long. And of another that should say there would be many fatherless children in *London* very shortly; upon which there were warrants sent out for the attacking of those Jesuits."[16]

On *Monday*, the 17th of *May*, "the House of Commons received a report of divers papists that frequently went to Mass at the Ambassador's, and other places about London, whereupon, their names were turned over to the King's Bench, to be there tried as delinquents."[17]

On *Wednesday*, the 19th of *May*, "there was one *Newton*, a priest, an *Englishman*, belonging to the *Spanish* Ambassador's, committed to the Gatehouse [for refusing the Oath of Supremacy]. Also, a mes-

[14] See Appendix, Note SS.
[15] From *Diurnall Occurrences.*
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.

sage was sent to the Lords, desiring that the *French* letters might be stopped this week as they were the last, and viewed by a Committee, which was accordingly done, the Committee reporting that they had both weeks received agitation against the State; they have not as yet made a full report in disclosing the same."

On *Saturday*, the 29th of *May*, [it was ordered] "that if any knew where any armour, or powder, or other ammunition, which belongeth to any recusant, be kept, and gave no notice to the next Justice of the Peace thereof, but concealed it, they to be imprisoned without bail, or mainprise,[18] and fined for their contempt." [19]

On *Monday*, the 26th of *July*, a Jesuit, which named himself by these four names, *William Waller*, alias *Walker*, alias *Ward*, alias *Slater*, was hanged, drawn, and quartered. I myself did see him drawn upon a hurdle from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*.

On *Friday*, the 31st [30th] of *July*, the House of Commons "voted that no papist should have vote in the Lords' House in matters of religion." [20]

On *Friday*, the 6th of *August*, there was a Committee concerning recusants, whereat there was one *Hawkins*, a priest, committed to the Gatehouse for refusing the Oath of Supremacy.

On *Thursday*, the 12th of *August*, "the Queen mother went away, attended by the Earl *Arundel*

[18] To let one to mainprise is to commit him to those that undertake he shall appear at the day appointed.—*Tomlin*.

[19] From *Diurnall Occurrences*. [20] Ibid.

and his lady, who were to go over with her into *Italy*."[21] Oh, praised be our God for this great mercy![22]

On *Thursday*, the 19th of *August*, there was a message brought to the House, and it was made evident by the testimony of a gentleman at the Bar, that the Marquis of *Winchester* had arms in his house at *Basing*, to furnish one thousand and five hundred men.

On *Saturday*, the 29th of *May*, "it was ordered that, if any man entertain a popish servant, knowing him to be so, and lodge him but one night, he should be imprisoned without bail, or mainprise, during the King's pleasure."[23]

[21] From *Diurnall Occurrences.* [22] Ibid. [23] Ibid.

# XX.

Of Reformation in the Pulling Down of Altars and Images—Concerning the Sabbath-day—Of the Protestation—A Day of Fasting and Prayer, and a Day of Thanksgiving—Of the Enlargement of the Prisoners—A Store-house of Mercies opened unto us—The King signeth and sealeth to many Acts in Parliament.

1640.—On *Tuesday*, the 7th of *November*, "as the House of Commons' second service was in reading at the Communion Table, a Psalm was sung, which put by the service."[1]

On the Lord's day, the 22nd of *November*, the House of Commons refused to receive at the Communion Table at *St. Margaret's, Westminster*, for that it stood altar-wise, and thereupon they sent to the Dean of *Westminster* that it might be set according to the Canons of the Church, whose answer was, that he would do it for them, or for any parishioner that should require the same in the diocese.

Joyful news, praised be our God for it!

On *Saturday*, the 13th of *February*, there was a Bill passed for the Removing of Communion Tables that stood altar-wise, and there are Commanders appointed to be sent into all parts of the Kingdom to remove the altars, sell the rails, and give the money

[1] From *Diurnall Occurrences*. The date should be 17th; it was the Fast Day. "In diverse churches, the people raised Psalmes to sing out the service."—*Robert Baillie's Letters*.

to the poor. And it was enacted that all pictures and images in Churches should be taken down before Easter, with great punishment to those that should rail the table in again, and set up any images in Churches.

On *Thursday*, the 3rd of *June*, 1641, "there was an order sent from the Commons concerning the going in procession, that there should not be any service read, or psalm sung, as was used."[2]

"Also, a Bill read against the convocation that the Canons should be made void, and they that made them were fallen into a *præmunire*."[3]

There came on the 8th of *September* an order, in print, from the House of Commons against Innovations as followeth:—[4]

"Whereas divers Innovations in, or about, the worship of God, have been lately practised in this Kingdom, by enjoining some things, and prohibiting others, without warrant of law, to the great grievance and discontent of his Majesty's subjects: For the suppression of such innovations, and for preservation of the public peace, it is this day ordered by the Commons in Parliament assembled, that the Churchwardens of every Parish Church and Chapel, respectively, do forthwith remove the Communion table from the East end of the Church, Chapel, or Chancel, into some other convenient place, and that they take away the rails, and level the Chancels, as heretofore they were, before the late innovations. That all crucifixes, scandalous pictures of any one

[2] From *Diurnall Occurrences*. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

or more Persons of the Trinity, and all images of the Virgin *Mary*, shall be taken away, and abolished, and that all tapers, candlesticks, and basins, be removed from the Communion table.

"That all corporal bowing at the name of Jesus, or towards the East end of the Church, Chapel, or Chancel, or towards the Communion table be henceforth forborne; That the orders aforesaid be observed in all the several Cathedral Churches of this Kingdom, and all the Collegiate Churches, or Chapels, in the two Universities, or any other part of the Kingdom, and in the Temple Church, and the Chapels of the other Inns of Court, by the Deans of the said Cathedral Churches, by the Vice-Chancellor of the said Universities, and by the Heads and Governors of the several Colleges and Halls aforesaid, and by the Benchers and Readers in the said Inns of Court, respectively.

"That the Lord's day shall be duly observed and sanctified; all dancing, or other sports, either before or after divine service, be forborne or restrained, and that the preaching of God's Word be permitted in the afternoon, in the several Churches and Chapels of this Kingdom, and that Ministers and preachers be encouraged thereunto.

"That the Vice-Chancellors of the Universities, Heads and Governors of Colleges, all Parsons, Vicars, and Churchwardens, do make certificates of the performance of these orders, and if the same shall not be observed in any of the places before mentioned, upon complaint thereof made to the two next Jus-

tices of the Peace, Mayor, or Head Officers of cities, or towns corporate, it is ordered that the said Justices, Mayor, or other Head Officer respectively, shall examine the truth of all such complaint, and certify by whose default the same are committed, which certificates are to be delivered in Parliament before the 30th of *October* next."

On the latter end of *August*, 1641, at *Margaret's* Church, in *New Fish Street*, the scandalous pictures in the glass windows were broken to pieces, and the pictures on the pew-doors were cut off, and the idolatrous, superstitious brass was taken off the stones.

On the beginning of *October*, 1641, at *Leonard's, Eastcheap*, being our church, the idol in the wall was cut down, and the superstitious pictures in the glass was broken in pieces, and the superstitious things and prayers for the dead in brass were picked up, and broken, and the picture of the Virgin *Mary* on the branches of candlesticks was broken. And some of those pieces of broken glass I have, to keep for a remembrance to show to the generation to come what God hath done for us, to give us such a reformation that our forefathers never saw the like; His name ever have the praise!

On *Friday*, the 20th of *February*, it is voted in the House for the putting down the Court of Honour.[5]

On *Tuesday*, the 2nd of *March*, there was an Act passed against usury for six pounds in the hundred for them that lend money, and the clerk for making

[5] See Appendix, Note TT.

the bond twelvepence, and if any clerk or scrivener take more, they forfeit twenty pound.[6]

On *Monday*, the 24th of *May*, there was a Bill read in the House "that no barge, or lighterman in *England*, or *Wales*, should load, or unload any goods, or ware, on the Sabbath day," and

On *Thursday*, the 3rd of *June*, "there was a Bill read and voted that no boat, barge, or lighterman should work on the *Thames* upon the Sabbath day, and upon contempt, every master to forfeit forty pounds, and a servant forty shillings."[7]

*The Order of the House of Commons to the Lord Mayor for the Due Observing of the Lord's Day.*

"It is this day ordered by the House of Commons that the alderman, and citizens that serve for the City of *London*, shall intimate to the Lord Mayor, from this House, that the Statutes for the due observance of the Sabbath be put in execution. And it is further ordered that the like intimation from this House be made to the Justices of Peace in all the counties of *England* and *Wales*, and the Knights of the Shire of the several counties are to take care that copies of this order be accordingly sent to the Justices of the Peace in the several counties.

"*By the Mayor.* Forasmuch as the Lord's day, commonly called *Sunday*, is of late much broken and profaned by a disorderly sort of people, in frequenting taverns, alehouses, and the like, and putting to sale victuals and other things, and exercising

[6] *Commons' Journals.* [7] From *Diurnall Occurrences.*

unlawful games and pastimes, to the great dishonour of God, and reproach of religion, whereof the House of Commons, now assembled, has been pleased to take notice: and, by their order, intimation hath been given unto me, that the Statutes for the due observing of the Sabbath be put in execution; these are, therefore, in his Majesty's name, to will and require you forthwith, upon the sight hereof, that you give strict charge and command unto all and every Churchwardens and constables within your wards, that from henceforth they do not permit or suffer any person, or persons, in the time of divine service, or at any other time upon the *Sunday*, to be drinking or playing in any tavern, inn, tobacco shop, alehouse, or other victualling house whatsoever, nor suffer any fruiterer, milkwoman, or herb woman, to stand with fruit, milk, herbs, or any other victual, or wares in any streets, lanes, or alleys, within your ward, or any other ways to put those things or any other, for sale upon the *Sunday* at any time of the day, or in the evening, nor to permit, or suffer any person, or persons, to use or exercise upon that day any unlawful exercises and pastimes within your ward, and that express charge be given to every keeper of any tavern, or victualler whatsoever, within your ward, that hereafter they receive not, or suffer to remain, any person or persons whatsoever as their guests, or customers, to tipple, eat, drink, or take tobacco, in their houses upon any *Sunday*, other than that innholders may receive their ordinary guests, or travellers, and such like,

who come to remain for a time in their inn for despatch of their necessary business. And if any person, or persons, shall be found offending in the premisses, that then they shall be brought before me, the Lord Mayor, or some other of his Majesty's Justices of Peace, to the end they may receive such punishments as to justice shall appertain; and hereof not to fail, as you will answer the contrary at your peril. This thirteenth of *April* 1641." (This was in print.)

On *Tuesday*, the 6th of *May*, in the House of Commons was read the Protestation, and then proffered to the whole House, and so it was generally taken by every member of the House. And they all unanimously set their hands thereto, which being done, they subscribed up to the Lords with a message, desiring them to join with them in the taking of the said protestation. Upon receipt thereof the Lords read the same, and after some debate the said protestation was generally made by them, except some few popish Lords, who went out of the House; and then order was given that the said protestation should be printed and sent through *England*.

"*May* 5, 1641.—It is this day ordered by the House of Commons now assembled in Parliament, That the preamble, together with the protestation, which the members of this House made the 3rd of *May*, shall be forthwith printed, and the copies printed brought to the clerk of the said House, to attest under his hand; to the end that the Knights,

Citizens, and Burgesses may send them down to the Sheriffs and Justices of Peace of the several shires, and to the Citizens and Burgesses of the several cities, boroughs, and Cinque Ports respectively. And the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses are to intimate unto the Shires, Cities, Boroughs, and Cinque Ports, with what willingness all the members of this House made this protestation: And further to signify that as they justify the taking of it in themselves, so they cannot but approve it in all such as shall take it.

"We, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the Commons House in Parliament, finding to the great grief of our hearts that the designs of the priests and Jesuits, and other adherents to the See of *Rome*, have of late been more boldly and frequently put in practice than formerly, to the undermining and danger of the ruin of the true reformed Protestant religion in his Majesty's dominions established, And finding also that there have been, and having just cause to suspect that there still are, even during this sitting in Parliament, endeavours to subvert the fundamental laws of *England* and *Ireland*, and to introduce the exercise of an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government by most pernicious and wicked counsels, practices, plots, and conspiracies; And that the long intermission and unhappy breach of Parliaments, hath occasioned many illegal taxations, whereupon the subject hath been persecuted and grieved; and that divers Innovations and superstitions have been brought into the church, multitudes driven out of his Majesty's dominions, jealousies

raised and fomented betwixt the King and his people, a Popish army levied in *Ireland*, and two armies brought into the bowels of this kingdom to the hazard of his Majesty's royal person, the consumption of the Revenues of the Crown, and Treasure of this Kingdom; and lastly finding great cause of jealousy that endeavours have been and are used to bring [the] English army into a misunderstanding of this Parliament, thereby to incline that army with force to bring to pass those wicked counsels: Have therefore thought good to join ourselves in a declaration of our united Affections and Resolutions, and to make this ensuing Protestation:—

"I, *A. B.*, in the presence of Almighty God, promise, vow, and protest, to maintain and defend, as far as lawfully I may, with my life, power, and estate, the true Reformed Protestant Religion expressed in the doctrine of the Church of *England* against all Popery, and Popish innovations within this realm, contrary to the same doctrine, and, accordingly to the duty of my allegiance to his Majesty's Royal Person, Honour, and Estate, as also the power and privileges of Parliament, the lawful rights and liberties of the subject; and every person that maketh this protestation in whatsoever he shall do in the lawful pursuance of the same. And to my power, and as far as lawfully I may, I will oppose, and by all good ways and means endeavour to bring to condign punishment all such as shall either by force, practice, counsels, plots, conspiracies, or otherwise, do any thing to the contrary of any

thing in this present protestation contained: And further, that I shall in all just and honourable ways endeavour to preserve the union and peace between the three kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, And neither for hope, fear, nor other respect, shall relinquish this promise, vow, and protestation."[8]

On *Wednesday*, the 5th of *May* [1641], a Committee of Ministers which sit in the dean's house, "being appointed by the House of Commons, began a consultation [upon the Canons] and Liturgy of the Church, and for the calling in of all Scandalous Books, and the drawing up of a platform or model for the reforming of religion, according to the doctrine of the Church of *England*, to be settled in this kingdom; the which, upon approbation and allowance of the Parliament shall be confirmed and enacted."[9] And

On *Monday*, the 21st of *June*, a Bill for Church Government, "that there should be six of the clergy, and six of the laity appointed in every county for the settling of Church Government:"[10] but of this I hope I shall write more at large hereafter.

[8] *May* 13, 1641.—"Resolved, That whereas some doubts have been raised concerning the meaning of these Words in the Protestation [*The true Reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England, against all Popery and Popish Innovations in this Realm*], The House doth declare, That by these Words was and is to be intended and meant only the publick doctrine professed in the said Church; and that the said Words are not to be extended to the maintaining of any Form of Worship, Discipline, or Government, nor of Rites, or Ceremonies."—Rushworth's *Historical Collections*.

[9] From *Diurnall Occurrences*. [10] Ibid.

On *Tuesday*, the 23rd [22nd] of *February*, it was ordered that "Ministers may use weekly lectures in their own Churches."[11]

On *Friday*, the 21st of *May*, the House of Commons "ordered that no Minister should hereafter be forced to take any oath at his induction, but such as shall be warranted by Scripture."[12]

On *Saturday*, the 24th of *November*, 1640, a proclamation was put forth for a general fast to be held in this part the 17th of this instant *November*,[13] and elsewhere upon the 8th of *December*; And

On *Saturday*, the 27th of *August*, 1641, was put forth an ordinance of Parliament for *Tuesday* the 7th of *September*, "A day of public Thanksgiving for the peace concluded between *England* and *Scotland*.

"Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God to give a happy close to the Treaty of Peace between the two Nations of *England* and *Scotland* by His wise providence, defeating the evil hopes of the subtle adversaries of both Kingdoms, For which great mercy it was by the King's most excellent Majesty, and the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament enacted, that there should be a public Thanksgiving in all the parish churches of his Majesty's dominions: It is now ordained and declared by the Lords and Commons in Parliament that the time

[11] From *Diurnall Occurrences*. [12] Ibid.

[13] "The Fast is observed 'very piously and devoutly.' Dr. Burgess and Mr. Marshall preach before the Commons for at least seven hours; the Bishops of Carlisle and Durham before the Lords."—Parry's *Parliaments of England*. Dr. Burgess preached from Jeremiah l. 5, and Mr. Marshall from 2 Chron. ii. 3.

for the celebration of that public Thanks to Almighty God for so great and public a Blessing shall be on *Tuesday* the 7th of *September* next, by prayers, reading and preaching of the word of God in all Churches and Chapels of this Realm: Whereof we require a careful and due observance, that we may join in giving Thanks, as we partake of the Blessing, with our Brethren in *Scotland*, who have designed the same day for that duty.[14]

"It is now ordered and commanded by both Houses of Parliament that the same be effectually done in all parish churches throughout this kingdom upon *Tuesday* the 7th day of *September* next coming, at the time of the public Thanksgiving, by the several and respective ministers of each parish church, or by their curates, who are hereby required to read this present Order in the church."

Blessed is he that hath the God of *Jacob*[15] for his help, whose hope is in the Lord, Which executeth justice for the oppressed: which giveth bread to the hungry: the Lord looseth the prisoners.—*Psalm* cxlvi. 5–7.

On *Thursday*, *December* 3rd, "Mr. *Prynne* and Mr. *Burton* appeared in the House of Commons with petitions against sentence in the Star Chamber, avowing their petitions to be true, for which Referees were made to take the same into consideration."[16]

On *Monday*, the 22nd of *February*, a report upon the abuses of the high Commission Court for fining

[14] From *Diurnall Occurrences*.

[15] Jaakob.

[16] From *Diurnall Occurrences*.

and imprisoning of men, which liberty they have not had but of late, and the proving against Doctor *Bastwick* in that court is found to be very illegal, and voted in the house to be against law and the subject's liberty. And it is also voted that the judgment in that court shall be reversed, his fine repaid by the Commissioners, and to make him full satisfaction for his damages.

On *Wednesday*, the 14th of *July*, "the House of Commons received a report of the unjust proceeding of the high Commission Court against one Sir *William Fault*, deceased, who was fined five thousand pounds for writing a letter of the unjust proceeding of that court; which the house conceiving to be illegal, voted that the said fine should be paid back by the Commissioners" to the executors of the said Sir *William*, and "that there should be some appointed to go up to the Lords to desire their joining with them in it."[17]

On *Monday*, the 1st of *March*, it was Resolved upon the question that the satisfaction to be given to Doctor *Bastwick* shall be given by the Archbishop, and those lords that voted against him in the Star Chamber.

On *Thursday*, the 11th [10th] of *March*, "The House of Commons received the report of Mr. *Burton's* business from the Committee, and it was then voted that the proceedings against Mr. *Burton* in the high Commission and the Star Chamber were illegal, and against the liberties of the subject."[18]

[17] From *Diurnall Occurrences*. [18] Ibid.

On *Friday*, the 12th [11th] of *March*, "it was Resolved upon the question that the satisfaction to be given to Mr. *Burton* shall be paid by the Archbishop, the High Commissioners, and those Lords that voted against him in the Star Chamber." [19]

On *Monday*, the 19th of *April*, "they fell upon Mr. *Burton's*, Mr. *Prynne's*, Dr. *Leighton's*, and Mr. *Prynne's* man's business." [20]

On *Tuesday*, the 20th of *April*, "they voted Mr. *Burton* that in respect of his unjust suffering, he should have six thousand pound damage, and be restored both to his calling, and living of *St. Matthews, Friday* Street.

"They also voted for Mr. *Prynne* that he should have five thousand pounds.[21] All which fines to be levyed of the chief agents in the censures.

"On *Wednesday*, the 21st of *April*, they began with Doctor *Leighton's* business, who for his extraordinary sufferings they voted to have ten thousand pounds damages, and to be restored to his function of physic; which monies to be paid as the rest," [22] by the chief prosecutors and agents in the censures.

On *Thursday*, the 20th of *May*, the House of Commons "fell upon the illegal proceeding of the High Commission against Mr. *Walker*, Minister in *London*, and his close imprisonment, whereupon he is restored

[19] From *Diurnall Occurrences*. [20] Ibid.

[21] "*John Brown*, a servant to Mr. Prynne, . . . . complaining of the sentence in the Star Chamber against his master."—*Rushworth*, part iii. vol. ii. p. 20. The man received 500*l*. damage.

[22] From *Diurnall Occurrences*.

to his benefice, agreed upon that he ought to have a repairing for his suffering." [23]

On *Saturday*, the 28th of *November*, 1640, "there was one *Brewer* by the Lords set at liberty, having been in prison fifteen years, upon a censure in the High Commission Court, in that he was an Anabaptist; and all the books and records of the High Commission for ten years last past were commanded to be brought into the House of Commons." [24]

On *Thurday* the 23rd [*Tuesday* 22nd] of *February*, "Mr. *Carter*, upon his petition, was restored to his Lectury." [25]

A many great outward mercies of God towards us. As

On *Wednesday*, the 25th of *November*, 1640, the City preferred a petition of thanks to the King, for dispelling and displanting the soldiers in armour that were in the Tower.

On *Monday*, the 7th of *December*, ship money was damned in the House of Commons.

On *Saturday*, the 12th of *November* [*December*], the House of Commons sent to the King that he would be pleased to send two of his ships that were upon the western coasts, to remove some Turkish pirates, which had taken some English and sent them to *Algiers*, and lieth in wait to take more, unto which an answer was presently returned, they should be sent away forthwith." [26]

On *Friday*, the 5th of *March*, It was also voted that all English merchants might take all pirates

[23] From *Diurnall Occurrences*. [24] Ibid. [25] Ibid. [26] Ibid.

upon the Seas, and were not liable to make account for the same to the King's Admiral, or other; which is also entered and signed to by the King.

On *Friday*, 7th [6th] of *May*, there was a charge to the looking to the Cinque Ports, and to the fortifying of them.

On *Tuesday*, the 15th of *June*, in the House of Commons, there was a bill read for the overthrowing of protections; that if any parliament man did grant any protection after *September* next, they were to forfeit two hundred pounds. And whosoever made use of any such protection to forfeit six months' imprisonment (*sic*).

Oh how hath God heard our prayers, in giving our royal King *Charles* an heart to sign and seal to those Acts that concerns the church of God. And the establishing him on his throne (for ever).

On *Monday*, the 15th [14th] *February*, 1641, "the Bill for Triennial Parliaments and the Bill for Subsidies were read and confirmed by the House of Commons." [27]

On *Tuesday*, 16th [15th], "the King came to the parliament and signed to the Bill for Triennial Parliaments, and the Bill for Subsidies. And that afternoon there was a conference between both houses to return the King thanks, upon [which] it was concluded that the whole house should go to the King to *Whitehall*, and that the Lord Keeper, in the name of both Houses, should return their thankfulness to his Majesty, which was done accordingly.

[27] See *Diurnall Occurrences.*

And that night there was great acclamation of joy in and about *London*, by order from the parliament, with ringing of bells and making of bonfires for the King's so cheerful Signing of the two Bills." [28]

On *Friday*, the 7th of *May*, the Bill concerning the Earl of *Strafford* and "the Bill concerning the continuance of the Parliament, the Lords agreed and consented unto, with the Commons, and moved the King according to their desires, and delivered the two Bills to his Majesty." [29]

On *Monday*, the 10th of *May*, in the "morning, his Majesty signed a commission to the Earl of *Arundell*, Lord PrivySeal, the Lord Chamberlain, and others, for the proceeding of two Bills, the one for the continuance of the parliament till the grievances of the kingdom be fully redressed, and the other for the execution of the Earl of *Strafford*." [30]

The Lord's name be praised.

On *Tuesday*, the 10th of *August*, "there was a message from the Lords" to the House of Commons, "that the King was come," who presently went up to the Lords' house; "where his Majesty passed the Act for the Treaty for Knighthood, the Bill for free making of gunpowder and saltpetre, A Bill for ordering the Clerk of the Market, A Bill for the ordering of *Durham* house to the Earl of *Pembroke* for a hundred years. His Majesty likewise signed the Commission for passing of Bills in his absence. He likewise signed another Commission whereby he made the Earl of *Essex* general of all his forces on

[28] From *Diurnall Occurrences*. [29] Ibid. [30] Ibid.

this side *Trent*, by which he hath power to raise forces in case of necessity."[31]

On *Monday* the 5th of *July*, in the morning, "the members of the House of Commons being met, being much discontented by reason of the King's refusing to pass the two Bills, for Star Chamber and High Commission, when he passed the bill for poll money, did nothing but debate about the business. But within an hour after, there came a messenger from the Lords, certifying the King intended to be at the house that forenoon [afternoon][32] about passing the said Bills; upon which the House sat still and did nothing; And not long after, having notice given by the Black Rod of the King coming to the Lords' house, they presently went up; his Majesty made a speech shewing some discontent at their distrust of him in desiring some time of consideration of the said Bills, alledging how carefully he had hitherto condescended to their requests. And so passed the Bills.

This mercy is a very great mercy, that these two terrible Courts, the Star Chamber Court, and the High Commission Court, which have undone so many thousands (and many of them God's children) have suffered much misery in those sinful Courts. And I and my brother *John Wallington*, with many more, were in this chargeable Star Chamber Court (for having some books that spoke against their wickedness) even till the time they were put down.[33]

[31] From *Diurnall Occurrences*. [32] Ibid.

[33] See Introduction, p. xxxvii.

O praised be our God that these two sinful Courts be now put down. Also

On *Friday* the 19th [18th] of *February* 1641, "There was a great debate in the House of Commons against the Court of Honour, upon Information of the many great abuses of that Court. It was voted in the House of Commons for the putting down of the same."[34]

The latter end of *December* 1641, there were putting out of those Common Council men that were not well affected, and there were chosen in most wards very wise and sound Common Council men, which was a great mercy of God.

We looked for good, but behold evil. For here you have seen the storehouse of God's mercies opened unto us, even such mercies the like never heard of that daily came flowing in among us. But oh now, now, (for our unthankfulness and security) with the leaf I must alter my matter and subject, and turn my dulsome pen with my shaking hand to write other matter, and to raise up my heavy trembling heart, and saddened[35] spirits to indite such sad matter that I thought I should never have written upon more.

[34] From *Diurnall Occurrences.*

[35] Sadded.

# XXI.

SAD AND TROUBLOUS TIMES—SIX WORTHY MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE CHARGED WITH TREASON UNJUSTLY — A GREAT DELIVERANCE OF THOSE SIX WORTHY MEMBERS — THE CAPTAINS OF THE CITY, AND CAPTAINS OF THE SEA, GO UP TO WESTMINSTER—OF THE PETITION OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE MEN.

FOR now the Lord hath suddenly turned our joy and cheerfulness into mourning and sad lamentation. For when the King was gone to *Scotland* the parliament sat still. And many complaints came in still against scandalous Ministers, yet no reformation was. But still we were in great fears here in the city among us of plots and treacheries, with papists and superstitious wretches, so that there were double watching and warding here among us. For there were many plots and designs discovered in the kingdoms.[1]

After the King came home from *Scotland*, he was entertained of the citizens very joyfully and sumptiously,[2] and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, with

[1] *Nov.* 14, 1640.—"*Tho. Chude* and *John Clay* were called in to testify touching a book, intituled *The Jubilee of Jesuits.*

"*Tho. Chude* declareth, he had one of those Books in his Custody, he had it from a Woman at *Redcliffe*, Wife to *H. Groodwell*, a Cobler, whose wife is a Papist; He delivered the Book, the same Day he had it, to the Sheriff of *London*, Sheriff *Warren*, in which Book was contained, that the Papists should fish in troubled Waters, while the King was at War with the *Scots*, with Prayers in it for the holy Martyrs that suffered in the Fleet sent against the Hereticks in *England*, 1639."—*Commons' Journals.*

[2] "Their Majesty's Meat was proportioned into Four *Services*. The

some of the chief of the city, went to meet the King on horseback, and the city streets had rails all along for all the company to sit in when the King came through, and brave coverlids hung over the pent-houses[3] all the way he went, and a great dinner provided for him by the citizens of *Guildhall*.[4] The parliament sat a long time, but nothing done to any purpose.

But many woful and miserable complaints came out of *Ireland*, concerning the poor Protestants. How many Rebels which were Papists had broke forth in rebellion,[5] and did most cruelly and barbarously murder the people of God, pillaging their houses, and burning their houses down, and so destroying all, and yet no help nor succour did we send unto them. And here in *England* many that were against Bishops now began to stand and speak for Bishops. And these prelates sat still with the Lords in Parliament. So that here were great combustions among us. And on *December* the 23rd the Lieutenant of the Tower[6] that was so just and faithful was put out, and the next day that wicked bloody Colonel *Lunsford* was put in, and was sworn Lieutenant of the Tower. I did hear he was

First consisting of Fifty Dishes of cold Meats; as Brawn, Fish, and cold baked Meats, planted upon, the *Garnish*, or Side-Table. The other Three *Services* were of all Sorts of hot Flesh and Fish, boiled, roasted, and baked: to the number of One Hundred and twenty Dishes. After which was served up a curious and well ordered Banquet."—Stow's *Survey*, Strype's edition, London, 1720. Also see *Rushworth*, part iii. vol. i. p. 429.

[3] Painthouses. [4] Gile Hall.

[5] Appendix, UU. [6] Sir William Balfour.

an outlawed[7] man, and that he had killed two, and was put into *Newgate*, and that he broke forth of *Newgate*, and fled beyond sea.

And now he was come again to have the charge of the strength of our city, that upon the least occasion he might batter down our houses on our heads, insomuch that now all in the city and many other places were much displeased, and great companies did go up to *Westminster* unto the Parliament.[8] And so on *Monday* the 27th of *December*,[9] this wicked bloody man was put out of his place again, and that afternoon Captain *Hide*[10] (in *Westminster Hall*) said, "Who says no Bishops;" saith some citizens, "We say no Bishops." With that Captain *Hide* drew his sword, and Colonel *Lunsford* with six more of that crew, drew their swords, and drived out of the hall the citizens, and cut many of them very sore. After this they made up to the Court of wards, where Mr. *Pym* and other Committees were, and some citizens, and it was thought they would have destroyed them. But there were many upon the stairs with tiles and bricks they took off the wall, which hurled them so thick that they took them to their heels, and escaped away. And on the next

[7] Outladed. [8] See *Rushworth*, part iii. vol. i. p. 459 et seq.

[9] Rushworth says Sunday, December 26.

[10] ". . . *David Hide*, a Reformado in the late Army against the *Scots*, and now appointed to go in some command into *Ireland*, began to bussle and said he would cut the Throats of those *Round headed Dogs that bawled against Bishops* (which passionate expression of his, as far as I could ever learn, was the first miniting of that Term or Compellation of *Roundheads*, which afterwards grew so general)."—*Rushworth*, part iii. vol. i. p. 463.

day much hurt was done again, for many citizens and 'prentices were sore hurt and cut; and on *Wednesday* night, there met above two thousand 'prentices in *Cheapside*, with clubs, swords, and halberds, and were intended to go up to *Westminster*, but, by the wise speech of Captain *Venn*, were pacified and returned home. And on that day there was a plot discovered by a Trooper that was drunk, how there were many that did offer their service to guard the King, but their intent was to fall foul on the House of Commons, and so destroy them. And on that day also the Bishops did petition to the King, that they might have a strong guard to keep them, or else they could not come in safety to the Parliament; or else that which was done without them, they did protest against the Parliament was of no effect, and could not stand. The King shewed the petition to the Lords of the Upper House, and they shewed it to the House of Commons. And so they joined both together, and voted twelve of these Bishops[11] for Traitors, and on *Thursday* morning they were sent to the Tower. So that all that men could not do, God did. For God turned the wisdom of these wise learned men unto foolishness, that they make a Halter to hang themselves. This is the Lord's doings. And it is marvellous in our eyes.

[11] They were:—John, Archbishop of York; Thomas, Bishop of Durham; Joseph, Bishop of Norwich; Robert, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; John, Bishop of St. Asaph; William, Bishop of Bath and Wells; George, Bishop of Hereford; Matthew, Bishop of Ely; Robert, Bishop of Oxford; Godfrey, Bishop of Gloucester; John, Bishop of Peterborough; Morgan, Bishop of Llandaff.

And if we be not very Atheists, we must needs say here is the very finger of God; so that God might have all praise; when the wicked perish, the righteous shall rejoice.

On *Friday* and *Saturday*, being the 1st of *January*, 1642, the King sent and fetched away out of the Tower to *Westminster*, powder, and as much ammunition as will serve five hundred men, and [he] hath their pieces of ordnance, and hath armies of men come out of the north parts, with fierce countenances, and with deadly weapons, that puts all us citizens in great fear that there is no good meant towards us. And this caused the Parliament on the 1st of *January* 1642 (with fear of these plots) to come to *Guild Hall* and *Grocers' Hall* to sit there. But on the 3rd of *January* the King sent a letter to them to come up to sit again at *Westminster*, promising they should be kept in safety, and that he would have as great a care of them as of his own children, (and many more fine words.) So they went up at noon with much fear. And before night the King came and accused six of these good men of Treason, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Stroud*, Sir Arthur *Haslerigg*, and the Lord *Mandeville*. And that night there went up some men to Mr. *Hollis'* study, thinking to have had them with two or three more, and there to have destroyed them; but praised be God, they were deceived, for there was none there. And that night also there was observed two men that dogged Mr. *Pym*, and another that went with him, for to

have done some mischief unto them, and another observing him to make toward Mr. *Pym*, he rushed in betwixt them, and gave a push to the adversary, and, being dark, they were gone of a sudden. Thus God did preserve his servants that night, and I hope will do for ever.

And all these men their study doors and their trunks were sealed up, and the King sent to apprehend them as Traitors, but the house would not let them go, and sent and pulled off the seal of their study doors and trunks. And that night the Cannoneers were sent into the Tower, which put the city to much trouble and great fear, that the Aldermen, and the Sheriffs were up that night, and the Gates looked unto, and the Chains pulled cross the streets, with knocking at the doors for men to stand up on their guard, and the next day our shops were shut up close, with every man his halberd and weapons in a readiness, and it was much feared that that night would have been a bloody night, but God of His mercy kept us, that it was not so bad as we feared. His Name have all the praise.

But before I proceed any further, I will return and write (as it is in the weekly books) the Heads of several proceedings in both Houses of Parliament.

On the Lord's day, the 26th of *December*, 1641, the Lord Mayor came home to Court to his Majesty at *Whitehall*, to acquaint him with the rumour of the Apprentices rising, if the Lieutenant of the Tower, (Colonel *Lunsford*) were not removed, and

that they would violently put him out. This evening His Majesty took the keys from Colonel *Lunsford.*[12]

*Monday:* The House of Commons meeting, the Citizens and Apprentices flocked about them for Answer of their petition, calling upon the members of both Houses in their passage to and fro, crying, "No Bishops, no popish Lords;" which caused the Commons to enter into consideration thereof, and, after some debate thereupon, there was a message sent to the Lords to desire a conference, whereat was prayed their assistance for the allay and pacification of such tumults.[13]

This day Colonel *Lunsford* and other officers and commanders being in *Westminster* Hall among the Apprentices, drew their swords, and made an uproar, and some were hurt in the broil with stones and other wise.[14]

This day also his Majesty placed Colonel *Byron* in the Lieutenant's place of the Tower.[15]

This day also was a proclamation published by his Majesty's authority, and proclaimed about the Court and palaces for the repairing home of the Citizens and Apprentices to their several dwellings, upon penalty of the infliction of the laws in those cases provided.[16]

*Tuesday* the Citizens and Apprentices flocked

[12] See *Diurnall Occurrences; or, the Heads of severall Proceedings in both Houses of Parliament.*

[13] Ibid. [14] Ibid. [15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid. See also *Rushworth*, part iii. vol. i. p. 466.

early in the morning in greater numbers to the Houses than the day before, divers of them being armed with halberts, swords, and other offensive weapons.[17]

This evening the Apprentices gathered about the Abbey, threatening to pluck down the Organs, and other popish relics, and the doors being shut they forced open one of them, but finding some opposition by the officers of the Church, and other of the Dean's servants, they retired without much hurt thereto. Only Sir *Richard Wiseman* and some two or three more were hurt by accident by stones or the like, flung at random.[18]

*Wednesday* divers of the Bishops came not to the Lords' house in respect of some abuses offered them the day before by the Citizens and Apprentices. This day the Apprentices, with others, flocked against the houses, crying (as formerly) "No Bishops, no Popish Lords."[19]

This evening the Citizens and Apprentices repairing homeward, upon some words of distaste that passed between them and divers serving men and foot men, about *Whitehall*, they fell together by the ears, much hurt being done on both sides; divers weapons were taken from the 'prentices. All this night was there a Court of Guard placed at *Whitehall*. Likewise there was a Court of Guard watched the Abbey.[20]

On *Monday* the 3rd of *January*, in the Lords' House, there was read a charge consisting of seven

[17] See *Diurnall Occurrences*. [18] Ibid. [19] Ibid. [20] Ibid.

Articles of High Treason,[21] sent from his Majesty by Mr. Attorney General, against those six worthy members of the House, the Lord *Mandeville*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Hampden*, Sir Arthur *Haslerigg*, and Mr. *Stroude*, which were good men, and worthy members of the House of Commons, whose studies and papers were likewise seized upon by the King's command; and the House of Commons being sent for, it was read to them, desiring their assistance to give his Majesty satisfaction therein, and that they might be sequestered the House as Delinquents, till such time as they had answered the said Accusations. The House of Commons thereupon entered into a consultation concerning it, and after some debate upon a Message to the Lords, there was a Conference, whereat it was moved, That the locking up of the said men's Studies and Trunks, was a breach of the privileges of parliament, and in that respect desired their assents and conjunction with them, for the taking off the said restraint, and touching their persons and forthcoming, and the whole House would be responsible[22] for them, till they had answered to that which was alledged against them; in the meantime they should be suspended the House.[23]

The House of Commons entered into the consideration of the drawing up a petition to his Majesty, in the behalf of their said accused Members, and, to keep from imprisonment they therein offered the

[21] See Appendix, VV. [22] Responsall.
[23] See *Diurnall Occurrences.* See also Appendix, WW.

whole Houses security for their forthcomings, and that they should be responsible to all objections against them.[24]

4th of *January, Tuesday*, the House of Commons meeting, there was Report made to the House, that his Majesty would be there that afternoon, to give Answer to their petition delivered the night before.[25]

About two of the clock his Majesty came into the House of Commons,[26] and the Speaker rising out of his place, he sat therein; and demanding of his prisoners, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hollis*, and so the rest, who were not there to be found, he made a short speech,[27] commanding the House to send them to him, so soon as they came, otherwise he would take them where he found them, and wished them to proceed in their affairs, without any fear of his concordancy with them to all their just requests, or words to that effect. So demanding his prisoners again, he left the House, never going to the Lords' House at all, but returning to the Court. His Majesty being gone, the House of Commons after

[24] See *Diurnall Occurrences*.

[25] "Whereupon a certain Member of the House, having also private intimation from the Countess of *Carlile*, sister to the Earl of *Northumberland*, that endeavours would be used this day to arrest the five Members, the House required the five Members to depart the House forthwith, to the end to avoid Combustion in the House, if the said Souldiers should use Violence to pull any of them out."—*Rushworth*, part iii. vol. i. p. 477.

[26] The *Diurnall* continues:—"At which the House being much annoyed to see his Majesty, who had never before been at their House, and having no notice of his coming."

[27] See Appendix, XX.

some small time of scanning thereof, presently adjourned in discontent till next morning.

This day in divers parts of the City and Borough of *Southwark*, they kept their shops shut, and stood on their guard, fearing some insurrection.

*Wednesday* in the forenoon his Majesty went to *Guildhall*, attended by divers of his Nobility, and there demanded likewise his prisoners, giving order for their apprehensions, and then went to dinner at one of the sheriffs; and towards evening, he was attended by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, as far as *Temple Bar*, homewards, who returning back, about *Ludgate*, some rude persons pulled the Lord Mayor off his horse, and some of the Aldermen, and forced them to go home a-foot.[28]

A great deliverance (of us all, but especially) of those Five dear Servants of God and worthy members of the House of Commons: Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*, Mr. *John Pym*, Mr. *John Hampden*, and Mr. *William Stroud*. Oh let this great Mercy of our God, on this day, the 4th of *January* 1642, never be forgotten to the world's end. But tell it to your children, that they may tell it to their children, how God did miraculously deliver his servants on the 4th of *January*, being *Tuesday*, 1642; how that "many soldiers, and papists, and others, to the number of five hundred, came with his Majesty to the said House of Commons, armed with swords, pistols, and other weapons, and divers of them pressed to the door of

[28] See *Diurnall Occurrences.*

the said House, thrust away the door keepers, and placed themselves between the said door, and the ordinary attendances of his Majesty: holding up their swords, and some holding up their pistols ready cocked near the said door, and saying, 'I am a good Marksman, I can hit right, I warrant you;' and they not suffering the said door, according to the custom of Parliament, to be shut; but said they would have the door open, and if any opposition were against them, they made no question but they should make their party good, and that they would maintain their party, and when several Members of the House of Commons were coming into the House, their attendants desiring that room might be made for them; some of the said soldiers answered, 'Let them come and be hanged, what ado is here with the House of Commons;' and some of the said soldiers did likewise violently assault, and by force disarm, some of the Attendants and Servants of the Members of the House of Commons, waiting in the room next the said House; and upon the King's return out of the said House, many of them by wicked oaths, and otherwise, expressed much discontent that some Members of the said House, for whom they came, were not there. And others of them said, When comes the word? and no word being given at his Majesty's coming out, they cried '*A lane, a lane*;'[29] afterwards

[29] "... as his Majesty came through *Westminster Hall*, the Commanders, Reformadoes, &c., that attended him, made a Lane on both sides the Hall (through which his Majesty passed ..."—*Rushworth*, part iii. vol. i. p. 477.

some of them being demanded, what they thought the said company intended to have done, answered, That, questionless, in the posture they were set, if the word had been given, they should have fallen upon the House of Commons, and have cut all their throats; upon all which we are of opinion that it is sufficiently proved that the coming of the said soldiers, papists, and others, with his Majesty to the House of Commons on *Tuesday* the 4th of *January*, in the manner aforesaid, was to take away some of the members of the said House, and if they should have found opposition, or denial, then to have fallen upon the said House in a hostile manner: And we do hereby declare that the same was a traitorous design against the King and Parliament. And whereas the said Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hampden*, and Mr. *Strode*, upon the report of the coming of the said soldiers, papists, and others in the warlike and hostile manner aforesaid, did, with the approbation of the House, absent themselves from the service of the House, for the avoiding the great and many inconveniences, which otherwise apparently might have happened: Since which time a printed paper in form of a proclamation hath issued out for the apprehending and imprisoning of them, therein suggesting that through the conscience of their own guilt they were absent and fled, not willing to submit themselves to justice: We do further declare that the said printed paper is false and scandalous and illegal;" much more might be said of

this; but because the House of Commons hath put forth a declaration more at large concerning this, therefore I here cease.[30]

But yet by the way, Consider who caused these five men to be out of the way, and who caused the word to be kept in; did not the Lord? yes, surely this was the Lord's doings, and it is marvellous in mine eyes. And by the way let me tell you what I did hear of; That if these five men had been taken from us, There was ordered amongst wicked counsel to pick out some of our best Lords, at one time, and some more of the House of Commons. And I did hear the names of some of our best ministers were taken, and hundreds of our best citizens picked out to have been destroyed, but praised be our God, we are yet preserved from the hand of the destroyer.

The Bishops in the Tower, and some other of the Popish faction, having made privately seven articles against Mr. *Pym*, and four other worthy parliament men, wherein they were all arraigned of High Treason; which when they had obscurely composed, they sent it to be presented to the King's Majesty, and that he would vouchsafe to give his Assent thereunto, and proclaim them Traitors. And being crost in this, They privately again, and obscurely composed Articles against Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Burton*, Mr. *Marshall*, and with divers other famous Divines, striving to suppress the painful Ministers

[30] *A Declaration of the House of Commons, touching a late* Breach *of their* Privileges, *and for the Vindication thereof, and of divers Members of the said House, agreed upon at* Grocers' Hall, *but passed not the house till* January, *the* 17*th.*

of God's word and Gospel; because they cannot bring the parliament into discord among themselves, labouring to eject the Chiefest Members thereof.

On *Thursday* the 6th of *January*, the Committees of both houses met at *Guild Hall*. And there was report made that the late Bishop of *Lincoln* (now Archbishop of *York*) had bespoken five hundred arms and ammunition for some attempts against the City; they then ordered that their Committee should be adjourned to sit the next day at *Grocers' Hall* (in the *Poultry*) as a more convenient place of safety for them.

This *Thursday* night being the 6th of *January*, I desire might never be forgotten. For in the dead time of the night there was great bouncing at every man's door to be up in their arms presently, and to stand on his guard,[31] both in the City and Suburbs, for we heard (as we lay in our beds) a great cry in the streets that there were horse and foot coming against the city. So the gates were shut, and the cullisses let down, and the chains put across the corners of our streets, and every man ready on his arms. And women and children did then arise, and fear and trembling entered on all. And some took such fright that night that it cost them their lives; as Alderman *Adams* his wife, my neighbour, she took such a fright that night that she died of it the next *Tuesday* at five o'clock in the morning. And although some might slight, jest, and scoff at this,

[31] See *Diurnall Occurrences.*

and think and say there was no cause, and that we were more fright than hurt; yet it is certain enough, that had not the Lord of His mercy stirred us up to bestir ourselves, it would have gone hard enough with us. Again there was great cause of fear, being but a day or two since the King in a rage went with his five hundred soldiers with their pistols and swords, intending death to those five good men (Mr. *Pym*, &c.) but missed of them, and knowing they were in the City, and, as I said before, they having taken notice of some of our best Lords, and of our House of Commons, many of them being in the City; and, as I did hear, they had a list of the names of our best Ministers, and of our best Citizens, for the papists bear most deadly malice against these men, and hath incensed our King very much against these men; and the King having hundreds of soldiers out of the north, of a fierce countenance, skilful to destroy; and I heard of deadly weapons newly made, which were to be struck into the body, and could not be pulled out again. And then to hear of the misery, and savage usage, and cruel death, the rebels put God's children to in *Ireland*, and no help goes from hence to them [which] might make us fear they would do the like here to us, if God did not keep us and restrain them. And then to consider the much sin and wickedness among us, which makes way for an enemy, and provokes the Lord to leave us into their hands. And is there not a cause of fear, think you? but praised be our God, which hath delivered us out of the hand of the cruel, and

doth try us a little longer; His name have all the praise.[32]

That day I did see the City petition.

By reason that there were such affronts and threats made against the House of Commons, and that some of the chief of them went in danger of their lives, by reason of the bloody papists, and those outlandish cruel troopers and soldiers that were in and about *Westminster:* Therefore, on *Tuesday* the 11th of *January*, [1641] the Sheriffs of *London*, the Captains of the City, and *Westminster*, presented themselves to the House, and so did the Captains of the Seamen, all which attended the House, desiring to know what further service they should be required; all of them were by the Speaker thanked for their extraordinary care and love expressed to the parliament.[33] And the Seamen were dismissed after they had brought the Members of the House from *Grocers' Hall* to *Westminster*. Upon their departure they discharged their ordnance and muskets in a brave and warlike manner, their boats having all their colours flying; the rest were also heartily thanked, and told by the Speaker that they should hear what further should be desired of them in convenient time.[34] There went up the train

[32] See *Diurnall Occurrences.*

[33] See *Rushworth*, part iii. vol. i. p. 483. Also Appendix, Note YY.

[34] "After our rising I went to walk awhile in Westminster Hall, and there stood many of the citizens of the trained bands of London, of the eight companies which guarded us this day . . . . and I saw upon the top of the pikes of divers of the Londoners the protestation formerly framed and taken by the members of the House of Commons, and afterwards by most of the citizens, hanging like a little square banner. Some had

bands out of the City to *Westminster*, with their protestations, and one Captain *Bunch* caused his soldiers to read their protestations, and to kiss it, and then all the soldiers went up with the protestation, some in their hats, but most of them had it on their pikes. And there went up that day (by land and by water) unto *Westminster* many thousands, and this I take notice of, that although there went up so many thousands, yet could I not hear of any one that was killed or hurt; but yet I hope I shall never forget that day, for I and wife tarried at home that day, and we hearing the ordnances go off, [it] put us in great fear that there were some danger approaching.

And there was made known to them an ordinance of parliament, agreed by the Lords and Commons that day, declaring the actions of the Sheriffs, Aldermen, and Common Council, and citizens in protecting the Lords and Commons in *London*, and their attending of them at *Westminster* was legal and justifiable, which is entered in both Houses, with a further Declaration, that all those that shall presume to arrest any the Members of the House upon pretence of the late charge of treason, which was judged illegal, shall be accounted enemies to the Commonwealth, and breakers of the privileges of Parliament; which is ordered to be registered and printed.

them also affixed, as I was informed, to their muskets, one had it fastened upon his breast."—*Sir Simonds d'Ewes' Journal*, Harl. MSS., 162, fol. 312 *a*.

Divers Knights and Gentlemen, and Freeholders of the County of *Buckingham*, to the number of five thousand, came to *London*, and presented a petition to the House against Bishops and Popish Lords, and shewing that the notice of the breach of the privileges of Parliament had hurried them upon the sudden, especially having heard of the accusation of one of their Knights, Mr. *Hampden*, of whose fidelity to his Majesty and the Commonwealth they were confident, though through some sinister information, his Majesty was incensed against him. They offered themselves to spend their lives and fortunes in defence of the Parliament and privileges thereof, according to their protestations (which every one of them had brought up with them).[35] They also shewed a petition to his Majesty which they desired to have advice, how to have it preferred to him,[36] whether the House would commend it, or that they themselves should deliver it. All were read and approved of by the House, and after they were called in, and Mr. Speaker was ordered to give them thanks for their extraordinary and speedy care; that they would take their petition into speedy consideration; and for that to his Majesty, the House advised that some six or eight of them might present it to his Majesty in the names of the rest, for the House saw their wisdom and moderation, such as they presumed they of themselves were very able to manage the business. And as touching their attendance or

[35] See *Rushworth.* [36] Ibid.

aid to the parliament, through the care of the City they were sufficiently guarded and assured; and therefore they might depart to their houses; and if occasion should hereafter appear, the House would inform them, and accept of their offers, and that the whole House, and every member of it, would be as ready to spend their lives and fortunes for the service of the King, as the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs from whence they were chosen; and so they were dismissed, and they went presently, and preferred the like petition, and declaration, to the Lords.

# XXII.

OF THE MISERIES OF IRELAND—OF THE SUFFERINGS OF MY WIFE'S BROTHER ZACHARIAH IN IRELAND.

BUT before I proceed any further of these things, I will begin to write a few things of the misery and woful condition of our brethren in *Ireland*, for there were divers letters sent from *Ireland*, which were read in the House,[1] concerning the rebellious proceedings of the papists there, and with what barbarous inhumanity they do oppress and persecute the protestants there; Wherefore, that unless the parliament did not supply them with some sudden forces, they had none or very small hopes of defending their lives. For the daily bemoanings of the poor oppressed protestants would almost pierce any Christian's heart to hear them, yet the inexorable tyranny and audacious attempts of the Rebels are so insufferable, that it transcends even patience itself to tolerate them any longer, for the tyrannical power they exercise upon poor protestants is not to be paralleled amongst Pagans and Infidels,

[1] 1641. *Nov.* 11.—A letter received from the Council in Ireland declares, "That the Protestants will be utterly destroyed, and that kingdom cut off from the Crown of England, if speedy supplies are not sent. The Rebels, to the number of 30,000, have siezed much property, and murdered many, threatening not to leave an English Protestant alive, unless an Act be passed for Freedom of their Religion."—Parry's *Parliaments of England.*

so far do these bloody miscreants degenerate from the name of Christians.[2]

The Rebels did rove extraordinary up and down in *Ireland* on *Thursday*, the third of *December*, 1641, and did much hurt in divers places of the country. They came to a town called *Rockall*, and then went to the English inhabitants, to one *William Clarke*, and slew him, his wife, children, and family, seven persons in number, cruelly murdered them. From thence they marched to the *Nessey*, about five miles, a town of Irish inhabitants, and went to the house of an Englishman, where they slew his wife, an ancient woman, and her daughter, without pity or Christianity. From thence they marched the next day ten miles, and came to a town of *Puckingell*, inhabited of English, where they fell upon the inhabitants thereof, and slew them in a cruel manner without mercy, to the number of above twenty families, men, women, and children. One woman above the rest they hanged at her own door with her children, and afterward burnt up the whole town with fire.

[2] See *Rushworth*, part iii. vol. i. pp. 403, 404. Also see "A Briefe Declaration of the Barbarous and inhumaine dealings of the Northern *Irish* Rebels. . . . By G. S., Minister of God's word in Ireland. London. Printed by A. N., for *Abel Roper*, at the blacke spread Eagle against St. Dunstan's in Fleet Street, 1641.

"They that are Recusants in the wane still prove Rebellants in the full of the Moone.

"As Popery and Treachery goe hand in hand, while Popery is kept under; so Popery and Tyranny are inseparable companions, when Popery gets the upper hand.

"For this your owne Backdoore of Ireland, for your owne sakes, have a care now in most mercifull time."—*King's Pamphlets.*

Having made that place desolate, they marched some three miles further. They came to an Englishman's house, where they slew the man at the door, and afterward they entered the house, where they found the woman and her maid a-brewing. The maid they took, and they threw her into the boiling caldron or pan of wort that was over the fire, and her Mistress they slew, and cut off her head, and afterward fired the house.

"The Lord of *Care* went forth with six thousand Rebels, and marched (to *Cleghorn*) three miles from *Cary*, and fired it, and murdered all the protestants, which lived there. They entered the house of one *Simon Sloper*, a Merchant, and hanged him at his door. Then they marched to *Kilworth*, a great English town, and of very great buildings; but by the way they came to an Englishman's house, but he himself was not at home, for they soon entered the house, and murdered all that were in it, to the number of 15 servants and children. When they had done this bloody deed, they took the old gentlewoman, and hanged her upon the walls before the gate, . . . . . and then would have fired the house, but could not, it being all stone-work. Then they battered down the house, and so marched away toward *Kilworth*, and presently took the town, murdering all the protestants that they could meet with, and besetting the Town round about to the intent that none should escape their hands; thus they murdered them all in a cruel manner. Thus when they had searched the Town in every house, they

took arms for thirty men. In like manner dealt they with *Jormoy* and *Cormock*." [3]

Amongst other sad disasters of the Rising of the Rebels in *Ireland*, there was the 24th of *December* 1641, an Army of about five thousand Rebels who were gathered together about *Cork* haven, south-west part of *Ireland*. There was a religious and godly man that lived there, by name Mr. *Dabnet*, who perceiving that the Rebels were come near, he did get about five hundred that were able to bear Arms. So they barred the gates to them as well as the fence of the house would permit them, and betook them to such provision as they had. But, poor souls, it was to little purpose, for when the Rebels approached, they fell upon the house, and some entered, and slew all the guard after a most butcherly and cruel manner as soon as ever they entered.

Then they took Mr. *Dabnet* . . . . . and when they saw that all these torments would not make him yield, but that he was resolved to die protestant, they pulled open his mouth, and cut out his tongue, and run an hot iron down his throat, and so he died.

His wife, poor soul, standing by beheld all this, with what sorrow let all loving wives and tender mothers judge; then they demanded of her if she would turn to them, but what with fear, sorrow, and

[3] From "The Happiest News from Ireland that ever came to England since their first Rebellion. London. Printed for *John Greensmith*. 1641."—*King's Pamphlets*.

the distraction that she was in, [she] was not able to speak, only with weeping eyes in an abundant manner, [she] fell upon her knees like one half dead. But they pulled off her head cloths, and dragged her out of the house by the hair of the head into the yard, where was a well, into which they threw her, and drowned her, and after all this set the house on fire.

*December* the 26th, 1641, Captain *Vaul*, like a violent sea devouring all before him, committing horrible outrages, sparing neither man, woman, nor child, after the cruel murdering of many hundred protestants, (went) about the North part of *Ireland*. Thus he marched, threatening fire and sword to all he met, without condition of men, though they yielded, and implored it on their faces with tears.

Approaching near *Londonderry*, he met with a poor scattered troop of forty protestants, (who) being beat from their own homes, were flying whereto they could find succour for themselves and their tender infants. The silly women seeing these merciless wolves, cried out most lamentably, and so, with their husbands, offered to make an escape, but in vain, for *Vaul* and his company surprised them. The poor women begged, with two ladies of good worth, for mercy, with bended knees, their hands up, and their tears trickling down their pale cheeks. But this hound would not relent. . . . .

In the city of *Armagh*, immediately after their entrance, (they) began to fall upon the prey, putting the inhabitants to most cruel and fearful deaths. They

were not content with the lives of the inhabitants of the city, whereby they slew about the number of a hundred and sixty, but after their inhuman dealing with their persons and possessions, they set all their houses on fire, and have so destroyed them that in all that great city there now remains not one house to demonstrate where the city was. You cannot perceive where the city did stand, but by the lamentable spectacle of the ruins, which can scarce be called ruins, being now made level into the very ground.

The Rebels are grown more bloody in their cruelties, and merciless dealing with the poor protestants that they now daily take, than heretofore they have been.

They lately took the town of *Strongford*. They have barbarously murdered, hanged, and destroyed other Ministers, and now say mass in their churches. It is too tedious for me to write the tithe of their cruel and merciless dealing which I hear of, and with my own eyes see those people that have been stript stark naked, and come through frost, snow and rain to *Dublin* for succour, and have died for want, thirty in a day and a night of them. There are at this instant about five hundred of them shipt to be sent to *Westchester*. Should you see the multitudes of them, and their miseries, and know the plenty that most of them lately lived in, it could not but make the hardest heart to grieve. If there be so many in this city, how many may there be through the whole kingdom, and have and do perish in the highways and open fields.

"Others[4] of the rebels marched to *Armagh*, which town they presently took, and burned the same night; which was a town full of rich merchants, both English and Scottish, whom they murdered in a most cruel and bloody manner, with their wives and children. In like manner have they dealt with the inhabitants of *Loughall*, a town five miles from the said *Armagh*, an English plantation."[5] And I cannot write the thousandth part of the miseries; for there might be volumes filled with such like cruelties as those poor protestants are put unto.

The beginning of *January* 1641 it was creditably reported to the parliament that there is thirty thousand families in *Ireland* destroyed, and a hundred thousand persons.

The unprovidedness of the protestants in *Ireland* to defend themselves against the Rebels, that all may see it hath been a great plot for some years, may plainly appear as followeth.

The Lord Deputy *Wentworth*, (in his Life time) disarmed the subjects in *Ireland*. There was a proclamation set forth by him at the parliament in *Ireland*, that neither English nor Irish should either sell or keep in their houses any powder, upon the loss of goods and life, neither any arms whatsoever, save only what was allowed, and to be had

[4] From "Bloudy Newes from Ireland. . . . Related by James Salmon, lately come from thence. London. Printed for Marke Rookes, and are to be sold in Grub street, neere to the Flying Horse. 1641."—*King's Pamphlets.*

[5] See Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion.* Oxford, 1849. Also Appendix, Note ZZ.

with leave from he King's store house in *Dublin*, pretending thereby to keep the Natives under, and to prevent such mischiefs as might arise if they were not thus curbed and kept down. By this means the protestants could not have any provision for defence, for powder they could not have without danger of life and goods as aforesaid; only except they could procure a licence from Sir *John Burlacy*, and after great friends and trouble they could have but five pounds of powder at the most, and that at two shillings a pound. So that whereas the English formerly had Arms, shot, and powder, to defend their houses, lives, and estates, Now it being taken from them, and they left naked, it proves thus the ruin of the poor protestants there.

At the foot of a hill called the hill *Rockall*, one *Patrick Locke*, a great papist, and a man of great means in those parts, having a very great estate, had vaulted his house round about, in which vaults he hath kept four several smiths, and forges, working upon provision for war ever since the first Treaty with the English and Scots, that is, for the space of these two years. This work is so far finished, that there is entertained in a vault, wherein they have undermined the hill, great store of Rebels, to the number of about five hundred, as is credibly reported; whereof one hundred are popish priests, Friars and Jesuits. They have been preparing powder in readiness as they could plot it, expecting thereby to blow up the hill therewith when our King's Army should have marched over it.

There was one of the Rebels taken, who discovered this plot, and that there was a hundred barrels of powder in the vaults for that purpose.

Now by all this that I have took notice of, let any one judge if this plot hath not been for many years.

And still aid is daily sent from foreign parts to the Rebels, so that they are increased to the strength that they are able to bring fifty thousand fighting men in the field. They have put hard for *Cork*, and have entrenched themselves near *Dublin:* divers great personages in that city have all revolted. They have set forth proclamations declaring they take Arms for their King, and are the Queen's army for a toleration of their religion, And for the defence of the laws of the land, so far as they serve their desires and wills.

There hath come from *Ireland* many such sad pitiful letters, concerning the miserable and sad condition of the poor protestants there, with the great increase of their enemies the Rebels, that it should make our hearts bleed; but I give you but a taste of the bitter cup that they drink of. And still they lie languishing and crying unto us, saying, Have you no pity of me, O you in *England?* Oh have ye no regard, all you that hear of my miseries? Behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce wrath.

In *October* 1641, when the Rebels did first arise in *Ireland,* there were the Sufferings and Miseries

of my wife's Brother, *Zachariah Rampain*, his wife and five children, four of his children dwelling in the house with him, having every child a maid-servant attending on them; his wife and children very tenderly brought up, and he a man well beloved and of a great estate, dwelling in the north part of *Ireland*, in the county of *Fermanagh*, near *Enniskillen*.[6]

Captain *Adkinson*, (which was kin to my Brother's first wife) being in *Castlecoule*, in the county of *Fermanagh*, knowing of the Rebels coming, sent to speak to my Brother, and caused him to bring his family and goods into the Castle, and they did by *Saturday* night get in what goods they could into the castle; and on *Monday*, *Brian Maguire* came with his Army against it, and took the castle; and the next day my Brother and his family had a pass under *Brian's* hand to depart the kingdom, and they sent a guard along with them, and then sent another company after them to murder them. So when they were gone about six miles off, they stripped them all, and bid them say their prayers, for they would kill them all. Then they first did kill my Brother *Zachariah*, stabbing their skenes[7] into him (as also his wife's brother, and a gentleman, they killed there in like manner also, cutting all their throats after they had stabbed

[6] Eskillen.

[7] Skain. A crooked sword, or scimitar, used formerly by the Irish.—*Halliwell.*

". . . which are thick and long sharp-pointed daggers, with dudgeon hafts much like unto cooks' knives."—*The Manifold Miseries of Civill Warre*, by H. P., London. Printed for *George Lindsey*, July the second, 1642.

them); which his wife beholding did on her knees beg for his life, as also his children, crying pitifully, "O do not kill my Father, O do not kill my Father," being much distracted, pulling their hair, being content and desiring to die with him. But these bloody Rebels did drive them from him, saying they would reserve them for a worse death, even to starve them to death.

Then my sister, and her four children, and her maids, and a Gentlewoman (whose Husband they then had hewed to pieces before their faces) they went all naked on a mount, and sat starving there; then came the Irish Rebels, and said they would kill them all, and as they were about it, another Rebel kept them from it. So the next day they went some two or three miles in the Frost and Snow, and two days after, other Rebels held three skenes at her breast, the children crying pitifully for her, and some were about to kill the children, and yet God kept them.

Then my sister did get into *Coule Castle*, again, to Captain *Adkinson*, but she was got into an old house, but could get no relief, and then, having intelligence she should be cut all to pieces, she then did get away, and in her journey by the way she had two children starved to death with hunger and cold, and then she went to *Enniskillen*, being very weak with hunger and cold, being naked, and some times up to the knee in mud. And after this, the Lord did move the hearts of some to give and provide some relief for her.

☞ But mark this; my Brother while he was living, did keep five pair of greyhounds, and after he was dead, the dogs went to the place where he was killed, for the space of a year and a quarter, every day, and did make such a howling and yelling, that they were a terror and a horror to the enemy, insomuch that some went away, and could not dwell near the place. This was testified to my sister by one of the Rebels that dwelt thereabout.

And a while after my Brother was killed, his eldest daughter (which was about seven years of age) was taken away with the Rebels, and kept with them (her mother not knowing what was become of her) and was with them three weeks, stark naked. And the Child having a fine head of hair, they cut it all off, and made themselves bracelets of it; and oh, poor child, she was almost starved to death with hunger and cold; but at last, one that did know her did fetch and brought her to her Mother, which did not know her, she was so altered.

At that time, the other child was taken away for two or three days, and as an Irish woman was holding of her, there came an Irish man with a skene, and would have killed her, had not the Irish woman swore that it was her own child, and so it was saved. And her own brother, the rebels took him, and drew him into his own field, and digged a hole, and buried him alive, and stript his wife and four children stark naked, and so they were all starved to death with hunger and cold.

*Some of the Words of my Wife's Brother* ZACHARIAH RAMPAIN *which he spake to his Wife within half an hour before he was put to death—October* 1641.

"Dear wife *Dorothy*, we are here by the Lord's permission in the rebels' hands, led as sheep to the slaughter, but let us not fear them, for they can but only take away this life. As our Saviour saith, 'Fear not them that can kill, but fear Him that can kill both body and soul, and cast them into hell, fear Him.' And as for the rebels, God will raise an army in His time to root them out, that although for a time they may prevail, yet at last God will find out men enough to destroy them. And as for the King, if it be true, as these rebels say, that they have his commission, hand, and seal for to kill and to destroy, in putting all the Protestants to death, if it be so, then surely the Lord will not suffer the King nor his posterity to reign, but the Lord at last will require our blood at their hands, that have been the cause of shedding blood;" and other words he spake to the same effect.

Now mark what followeth, "He that sheddeth blood, by man shall his blood be shed," saith the Lord.

It was not long after but it was known that one of those men that had a hand in killing my brother, he was killed, and I make no question but the rest are, or will be, in God's time. And towards the

latter end of *May* 1641, was the Earl of *Strafford*, Deputy of *Ireland*, that was a great agent employed by the King in shedding of the blood of the Protestants in *Ireland*, beheaded on the scaffold upon *Tower Hill*.

END OF VOL. I.

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